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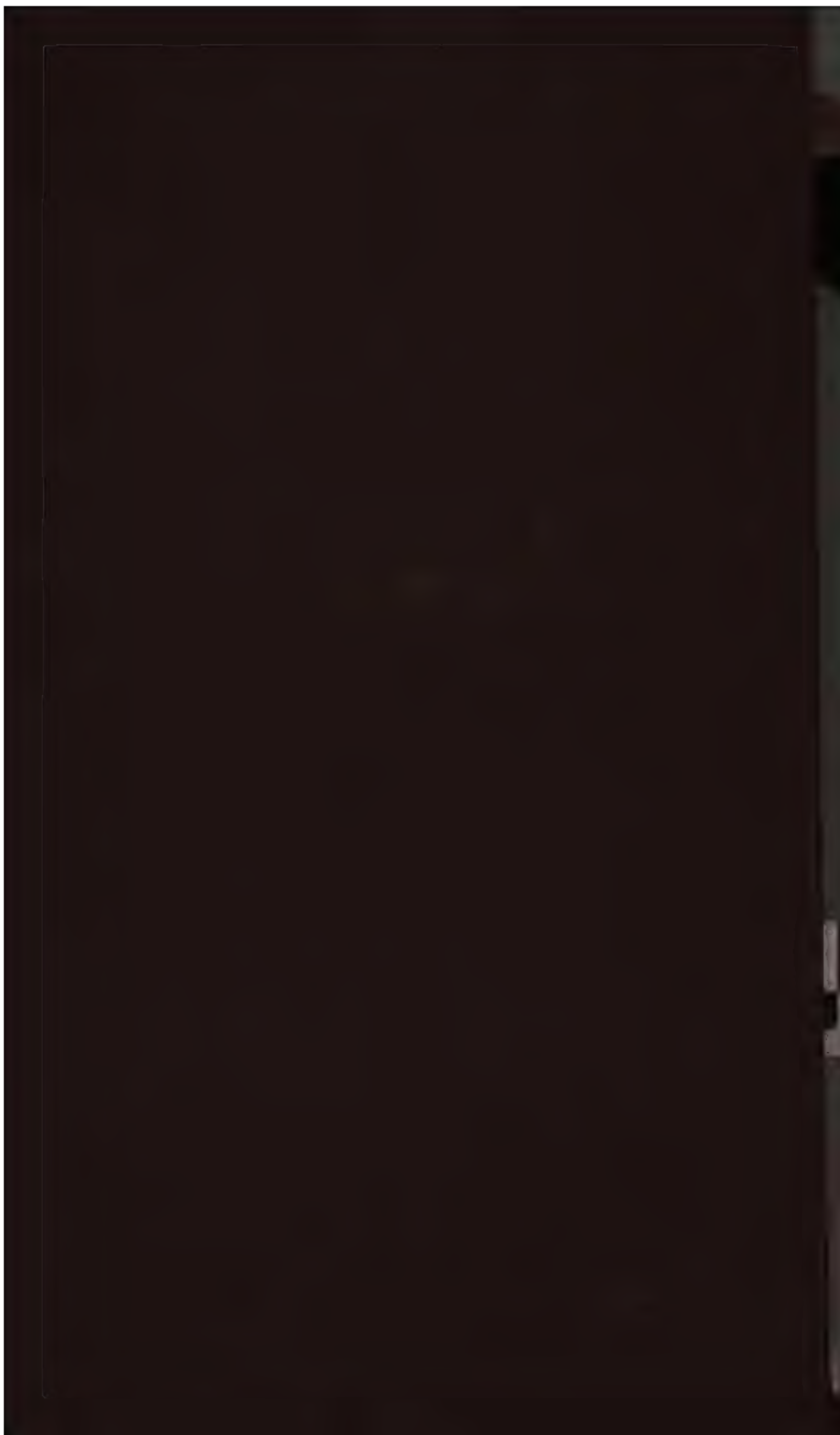
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HISTORY AND REVELATION.

THE CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE

PREDICTIONS OF THE APOCALYPSE

WITH THE

MARKED EVENTS OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA,

FROM GIBBON, MEZERAY, MOSHEIM, D'AUBIGNÉ, AND OTHER EMINENT HISTORIANS.

BY

JAMES H. BRAUND.

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HISTORY AND REVELATION.

LECTURE XII.

THE SIXTH TRUMPET.

Third Part.

Rev. x. xi. 1, 2. A.D. 1500—1521.

WE have now to consider the third part of the sixth trumpet's announcements. The varied, important, and interesting symbols and terms employed, not only furnish grounds for the hopeful expectation, noticed in the previous lecture, of a brighter feature in the experience of Christ's true church being exhibited by the records of history, but also supply, by their marked change in character, another severe test to the accuracy of our chronology and of our previous conclusions. They are thus related in the inspired record:—

“And I saw another mighty angel come down from heaven, clothed with a cloud; and a rainbow was upon his head, and his face was as it were the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire. And he had in his hand a little book open: and he set his right foot upon the sea, and his left foot on the earth, And cried with a loud voice, as when a lion roareth; and when he had cried, seven thunders uttered their voices. And when the seven thunders had uttered their voices, I was about to write: and I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Seal up those things which the seven thunders uttered, and write them not. And the angel which I saw stand upon the sea and upon the earth, lifted up his hand to heaven, and swore by him that liveth for ever and ever, who created heaven, and the things that therein are, and the earth, and the things that therein are, and the sea, and the things which are therein, that there should be time no longer; but in the days of the voice of the seventh

angel, when he shall begin to sound, the mystery of God should be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets. And the voice which I heard from heaven spake unto me again, and said, Go and take the little book which is open in the hand of the angel which standeth upon the sea and upon the earth. And I went unto the angel, and said unto him, Give me the little book. And he said unto me, Take it and eat it up; and it shall make thy belly bitter, but it shall be in thy mouth sweet as honey. And I took the little book out of the angel's hand, and ate it up; and it was in my mouth sweet as honey: and as soon as I had eaten it, my belly was bitter. And he said unto me, Thou must prophesy again before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings. And there was given me a reed like unto a rod: and the angel stood, saying, Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein. But the court which is without the temple leave out, and measure it not; for it is given unto the Gentiles: and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months."

The scene of this part of the vision opens with the appearance of "a mighty angel come down from heaven, clothed with a cloud, and a rainbow was upon his head, and his face was as it were the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire." It will be observed that two of these characteristics correspond with those in the first vision seen by the evangelist, "And in the midst of the seven candlesticks, one like unto the Son of man; his feet were like unto fine brass as if they burned in a furnace; and his countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength. And he laid his right hand upon me, saying unto me, Fear not; I am the first and the last; I am he that liveth and was dead; and, behold, I am alive for evermore."

These characteristics therefore point out "the mighty angel" to be a powerful messenger in the service of Him "who liveth and was dead, and is alive for evermore;" and as the sanctuary was not the locality of his appearance, it is imposed on history to exhibit a personification of this angel on earth, similarly characterised by the service of Christ and

by a powerful zeal in his cause. The visible agent, symbolised by the angel, is invested with the guiding though unseen presence of God, by the cloud with which the angel was clothed, of which presence "a cloud" is the symbol—"Then a cloud covered the tent of the congregation, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle," Ex. xl. 34; by the rainbow upon the angel's head, the agent is further especially charged with the conspicuous manifestation on the earth of God's covenant of grace; and as the angel was seen "come down from heaven," so, in addition to the foregoing, history must show that the agent represented by the angel similarly came down, or seceded, from the ecclesiastical heaven of the Roman empire in the west.

It must be observed, that though, for the sake of simplicity, the impersonation of the angel is spoken of in the singular number, the spirit or influence by which he was animated may be held to have been more especially represented in the vision by the angelic symbols; so that, provided the requisite characteristics are manifested, the historic illustration may be supplied either by the acts of a single or of separate individuals, or by a corporate body, individual and singular in action;—wherever, indeed, the spirit of the angel is apparent, there will the correspondence with the prophecy be apparent also. In the following interpretations, therefore, the impersonation of the angel, however or wherever named, must be held to have either a singular or plural signification as the case may require.

Already shown by his distinguishing characteristics to be in the possession of the knowledge of the gospel of Christ, and by the symbolic cloud and rainbow, of God's grace, favour, and presence, the impersonator of the angel exceptionally possessing and exhibiting the Bible as the sacred revealer of those truths, will be readily recognised as a proper illustration to be required from history, of the terms "And he had in his hand a little book open." The next terms, "And he set his right foot upon the sea and his left foot on the earth," appropriately signify, that those who had invaded and settled in the Roman empire, represented by the sea as previously shown, and the Romans of the west,

represented by the earth as also previously shown, would be alike embraced and brought under the sound of his voice or preaching; the latter being signified by the terms, "And cried with a loud voice." The power of his voice is declared by "as when a lion roareth," the force of which a very remarkable effect can alone satisfy, inasmuch as the characteristics of the angel attach to the voice the power of "the Lion of the tribe of Judah." The next terms are, "And when he had cried, seven thunders uttered their voices," which show that "the lion's roar" was already heard, and answered by a roar of thunder, and, as indicated by the perfect number seven, from the highest source of ecclesiastical authority. This requires from history to show that the preaching of the gospel was opposed by the bulls, anathemas, and excommunications of the popes, whom we have seen in the previous lecture to have been the ecclesiastical heads of the professing Christian church; and whose bulls, anathemas, and excommunications were commonly designated "the seven thunders of Rome;" a term of historic as well as Apocalyptic notoriety, adopted by the heads of the unsealed of the prophecy to inspire terror and awe into the minds of their enemies, and handed down to posterity as expressive of a fearful power, before which the kings, princes, and people of the earth universally trembled. It will be observed, that the sealed and unsealed of the former prophecy are here exhibited in active antagonism. The next terms, "And when the seven thunders had uttered their voices, I was about to write; and I heard a voice from heaven, saying, Seal up those things which the seven thunders uttered and write them not," will occasion no surprise or regret, seeing that the injunction "write not," informs the sealed, or true church, whom John represented, that the things which the seven thunders uttered were not to be accepted as an announcement from God, though proceeding from the highest source of ecclesiastical authority. This indication of the injunction "write not" is obtained by noticing that in each instance in the prophecy during the foreshowing of the things to come to pass where the opposite injunction "write" is used, it is followed by an emphatic

declaration of the truth of the things to be written. Thus chap. xiv. 13, "I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me, *write*, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: *Yea, saith the Spirit*:" chap. xix. 9, "He saith unto me, *write*, Blessed are they which are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb. And he saith unto me, *These are the true sayings of God*:" And chap. xxi. 5, "Behold, I make all things new. And he said unto me, *write, for these words are true and faithful*." "*Write not*," therefore, clearly implies that the words uttered by the voice of the seven thunders, being neither "the sayings of the Spirit, the true sayings of God, or true and faithful," proceeded from a source opposed to truth, and were therefore to be rejected from the apostle's record, and by the members, represented by him, of the true church, who would hear them.

The next terms are "And the angel which I saw stand upon the sea and upon the earth, lifted up his hand to heaven, and sware by Him that liveth for ever and ever, who created heaven, and the things that therein are, and the earth, and the things that therein are, and the sea, and the things which are therein, that there should be time no longer: but in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound, the mystery of God should be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets." These terms in their strictest sense signify, that the events of the period would be identified with those foreshown by the voice of the angel of the sixth trumpet; and that the expectation would prevail and be proclaimed that when the seventh angel sounded, the grand consummation of all things would immediately ensue. It must be strictly observed, however, that the declarations of the angel in his representative character of human agency are not invested with the direct prophetic authority which would have attached to them had they proceeded from the sanctuary; neither have they any prophetic character in the mouth of the human agent beyond the fact of utterance. It will be seen, therefore, that the Apocalyptic terms, so viewed, foreshow only that the prevalence and utterance of such expectations would be a marked feature in the history of the age; they do not fore-

show that those expectations would be realised. The observance of this is the more necessary, inasmuch as the force of the terms is such as naturally to impress the mind at first sight with an opposite view, the general adoption of which has led to much unnecessary and groundless controversy.

The spirit and intent of this section of the prophecy, if viewed in its strictest sense, will be properly appreciated, by its being considered as showing the magnitude of the gospel-angel's intervention by the effect it produced; and if that effect is found to have been a conviction in the mind of the church, that it was the precursor of the final consummation speedily to follow, the propriety of the terms will be readily recognised, and their prophetic force satisfied.

It may be also observed in corroboration of the foregoing, that, whilst the instruction to the church to "seal up those things which the seven thunders uttered, and write them not," is communicated by a voice *from* heaven, the hand and voice of the angel is lifted up *to* heaven; a distinction too marked to be without prophetic purpose, and too plain in its signification to admit of a construction opposed in spirit to that advanced. At the same time it must be borne in mind that a voice *from* heaven not uttered in the temple or sanctuary requires historic illustration, as well as a voice *to* heaven; so that, notwithstanding the foregoing distinction, both will require to have their echo on the earth; the voice from heaven instructing John would be heard by the church only, whom he represented; the voice *to* heaven from the angel with his right foot upon the sea and his left foot on the earth, would be audible, as we have seen, to the inhabitants of the empire generally, but be more especially addressed to their ecclesiastical or political heads, and must be found to have proceeded from a source uninvested with the marks of visible authority, excepting, perhaps, those which may have appertained to the angel's impersonator, previously to, in the Apocalyptic phrase, his coming down from heaven, and his investiture with the symbolic cloud and rainbow.

Whilst the foregoing interpretations, however, satisfy the

requirements of the Apocalyptic terms taken in their strictest sense, including “There should be time no longer,” it will be seen that taken in their collective and general sense, they would receive a consistent and interesting illustration by the angel’s impersonator, *in reply to the voices which the seven thunders uttered*,” declaring the untruthfulness of those voices to the true church, to whom, up to this time, their character had been hidden or “sealed up;” and by his emphatically proclaiming—appealing to the Holy Scriptures and solemnly invoking God as a witness to its truth—that the “seven thunders’ ” “time” of triumph “should be no longer,” reserving, however, a final result for the later period, figuratively expressed by “But in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound, the mystery of God should be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets.” Under this view, an interesting subject of enquiry, on our reaching that point in the prophecy, appears to be here implied. This, however, we must await the announcements of the seventh trumpet to determine.

The evangelist continues his narrative of the vision by saying:—“And the voice which I heard from heaven spake unto me again, and said, Go and take the little book which is open in the hand of the angel which standeth upon the sea and upon the earth;” which requires, in illustration, an instruction from a source of authority to the true church to receive the word of God as the depository of the announced gospel truths; “the announced” being indicated by the previous term of “the lion’s roar.” “And I went unto the angel and said unto him, Give me the little book,” signifies the acceptance of the gospel by the true church; as also, “And he said unto me, Take it and eat it up; and it shall make thy belly bitter, but it shall be in thy mouth sweet as honey; and I took the little book out of the angel’s hand, and ate it up,” that the members of the true church, impressed with a sense of the bitter opposition and persecution they would have to endure from the professing Christian church, and encouraged by the sweet satisfaction they would derive from their instrumentality in spreading by their preaching the knowledge of God’s truth,

received and adopted the gospel and the Bible containing it as their rule of faith; whilst the next terms, "And it was in my mouth sweet as honey; and as soon as I had eaten it, my belly was bitter," foreshow that the experience of the church exactly corresponded with their impressions; and "Thou must prophesy *again* before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings," not only the extensive area of their preaching, but also by the term "*again*," that their doctrine would not be now pronounced for the first time, but be a resumption from a former period, at which the voice of the preacher of the same gospel of truth from God, had been interrupted by the voice and practice of a gospel of error. The latter though already shown to have proceeded from the teachings and written traditions of the unsealed, will be further illustrated as we proceed. This brings us to the concluding terms of this part of the prophecy—"And there was given me a reed like unto a rod: and the angel stood, saying, Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein. But the court which is without the temple leave out, and measure it not; for it is given unto the Gentiles; and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months." It must be observed that the angel is here mentioned without any distinguishing mark. In each instance when previously mentioned, he has been described as the angel standing with his right foot upon the earth and his left foot on the sea; so that, as the Apocalyptic terms are too explicit for any change, whether by addition or otherwise, to be without prophetic purpose, it must be considered that the angel no longer stands with his right foot upon the sea and his left foot on the earth, but that, as shown by the invitation to John to rise, etc. proceeding from its interior as we shall presently see, he had ascended from the earth to the temple of God in heaven. This necessitates a corresponding historic change at the period denoted, which would be very properly supplied by the angel's impersonator exhorting the members of the true church in terms accordant with those of the prophecy, no longer however as that impersonator, but as one of the church, which, it is now implied, has attained

visible proportions capable of measurement or definition. The appositeness of the angel's retirement to the temple of God, the place of the church in heaven, and the angel's impersonator mingling with the members of the church on earth, will be readily recognised.

As it may possibly occur to some that, in the absence of distinct notification thereof, the angel here mentioned, is not the same angel—a view which the break in the chapters is calculated in some measure to suggest—it may be stated that the angel of the sixth trumpet, who is the only other angel mentioned in the vision, has been already exhibited as standing before God in the temple; so that, if he be the angel now speaking, the voice would proceed from the same locality, and therefore be the same in effect.

Another instance is thereby afforded of the strict propriety of the Apocalyptic language, inasmuch as, whilst the prominence that would have been attached to the angel personally by a distinguishing mark is confined by its absence solely to his declarations, all possibility of erroneous interpretation is avoided by the angel in either case speaking in the temple; a locality which enforces the conclusion that the angel is here exhibited simply as a medium of information, and in no way to affect the nature of that information by any personal qualification.

That the voice proceeded from the interior of the temple is shown by the mention of "the altar and them that worship therein;" so that, interpreting as before (the temple of God not being yet opened to public view), it must be considered that the information given to John was supplied for the benefit of the true church only, whose members would therefore alone recognise the hand of God in the accomplishment of the events foretold. It must be also observed that the prophetic announcements of the angel as to time, being now made in the sanctuary, are invested with the authority of a revelation from God himself, requiring therefore in illustration, not the announcement, but simply the fulfilment of the things announced.

Having satisfied ourselves respecting the angel referred to in this part of the prophecy, the succeeding terms may be

thus interpreted. "And there was given me a reed like unto a rod," imposes on history to exhibit the church at this period invested with power, the extent of which is dependent on that expressed by the symbolic "reed like unto a rod." As will be subsequently shown, a rod was recognised in the sixteenth century as an emblem of authority established for the punishment of the wicked; and as such was sometimes placed before criminals at the time of their execution, and also before Christians when suffering martyrdom at the hands of their persecutors. Its symbolic signification in the present instance is therefore plain, and throws much light on the subsequent terms of the prophecy. It will be seen that the church is thereby exhibited as becoming an active woe to Christendom, and the fulfiller of prophecy, as the instrument in God's hands to continue the execution of the judgments pronounced by the voice of the angel of the sixth trumpet against those who dwelt upon the earth.

This symbol will appear invested with a still deeper significance, if viewed in conjunction with the terms of the angel's oath, "In the days of the voice of the seventh angel the mystery of God should be finished;" also with those preceding that angel's descent to the earth, "And the rest of the men which were not killed by these plagues yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship demons, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood, which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk; neither repented they of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornication, nor of their thefts;" furthermore, with the injunction to John which follows, "But the court which is without the temple leave out, and measure it not; for it is given unto the Gentiles, and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months;" and lastly, with the concluding terms of the sixth trumpet's voice, "The second woe is past, and, behold, the third woe cometh quickly."

Whilst, therefore, severe woe to the unsealed is foreshown, it must be noted, however, that a modification of the full symbolic power of the rod results from the qualified sense in

which it is used. It is not a rod, but “a reed like unto a rod,” so that whilst the rod alone would have denoted death to the offenders, “the reed like unto a rod” mitigates the punishment to a severity short of that extreme result.

The remaining terms are:—“And the angel stood, saying, Rise and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein. But the court which is without the temple leave out and measure it not, for it is given unto the Gentiles, and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months.” It will be observed that two systems of worship are here exhibited; the professors of one are seen in the *inner* court of the temple, whilst those of the other are in its *outer* court. As under the old Jewish system, as previously mentioned, the inner court was the scene of the worship visible to God only, and the outer court that of the public worship visible to the people, so the distinction now noted points out the former to be a church seen and accepted by God, but not so by man; the latter to be the visible professing church seen and accepted by man, but not so by God. The former are characterised as Christ’s flock by their worshipping at the inner court altar, the medium of acceptance with God under the old dispensation, and the symbol of Christ’s mediation under the new. They are, moreover, designated “the holy city.” This city the latter are represented to have for ages past trodden down.

The prophetic terms, therefore, indicate that the members of the true church, who would be known by their acceptance of Christ as their only mediator, would, at the period denoted, be exhorted to rise and constitute themselves into a visible body of Christian worshippers distinct from those by whom they were surrounded; that the tyranny of the then visible body, the Gentiles of the prophecy, would be exposed, and the true church called upon, not only to recognise in its system that which then and which had *for ages past* oppressed the truth, but also to reject its professors from their communion.

Truth and error being thus set face to face, the historic comment on these terms is fraught with much interest and

doctrinal importance. Those whom history shows to have been so rejected on earth, the revelation of Jesus Christ shows to be rejected in heaven. By the sure word of this prophecy, the mind of God is clearly revealed; therefore, "Blessed is he that readeth, and they who hear, and keep those things which are written therein."

Some surprise may probably arise at the interpretation "for ages past," being attached to the Apocalyptic "forty and two months." The time involved, interpreting as before a prophetic day to represent a literal year, is 1260 years, but as a similar period is again mentioned in the next part of the prophecy, a precise illustration may with advantage be postponed until that part comes under consideration. In the meantime as the fulfilment only is required and not the announcement as previously shown, "for ages past" will be accepted as a general interpretation fully meeting the present necessity.

We have now to seek the verification of these interpretations by the event. It will be seen that the number and particularity of the prophetic terms and symbols fully justify the statement at the commencement of this lecture, that a severe test would be applied thereby to the accuracy of our chronology and of our previous conclusions.

As before mentioned, Gibbon's history terminates A.D. 1453, so that, beyond that he has already notified a reformation in the sixteenth century, and a brief anticipatory reference to its consequences is found in his 54th chapter, his graphic and impartial pages do not supply the illustrations of our subject; his notice, however, sufficiently exhibits the correspondence between the reformation he refers to, and that indicated in the vision, to furnish the immediate subject of search in the records of other historians. He says, under the head of "Introduction of the Paulicians into Italy and France," and still illustrating the unrepented sins of the western professing Christians, the subject of the previous lecture:—"It was in the country of the Albigeois, in the southern provinces of France, that the Paulicians were the most deeply implanted; and the same vicissitudes of martyrdom and revenge which had been displayed in the

neighbourhood of the Euphrates, were repeated in the thirteenth century on the banks of the Rhone. The laws of the eastern emperors were revived by Frederic the Second. Pope Innocent III. surpassed the sanguinary flame of Theodora. It was in cruelty alone that her soldiers could equal the heroes of the crusades, and the cruelty of her priests was far excelled by the founders of the Inquisition, an office more adapted to confirm than to refute, the belief of an evil principle. The visible assemblies of the Paulicians, or Albigeois, were extirpated by fire and sword; and the bleeding remnant escaped by flight, concealment, or Catholic conformity. But the invincible spirit which they had kindled still lived and breathed in the western world. In the state, in the church, and even in the cloister, a latent succession was preserved of the disciples of St. Paul; who protested against the tyranny of Rome, embraced the Bible as the rule of faith, and purified their creed from all the visions of the Gnostic theology. The struggles of Wickliffe in England, of Huss in Bohemia, were premature and ineffectual; but the names of Zuinglius, Luther, and Calvin, are pronounced with gratitude as the deliverers of nations; and as champions of the gospel, and preachers of truth in the midst of a general apostasy, they stand forth as ambassadors of Christ, invested with the characteristics of the symbolic angel in the vision. A note, by the editor of Bohn's edition, says:—"No salutary change has ever been sudden. Permanent reform has always had such unsuccessful precursors as Wickliffe and Huss. The merit of their triumphant followers was in the favourable conjuncture which called them into action (the appearance of the angel). To estimate rightly the value of the Reformation, we must watch in all its stages, the long previous struggle by which it was prepared, and unveil the antagonist ascendancy in its earliest form. There is not a brighter hour in the history of man." Gibbon continues:—"A philosopher, who calculates the degree of their merit and the value of their reformation, will prudently ask from what articles of faith, they have enfranchised the Christians; for such enfranchisement is doubtless a benefit so far as it may be compatible with truth and piety.

After a fair discussion we shall rather be surprised by the timidity, than scandalised by the freedom of our first reformers. In the great mysteries of the Trinity, the reformers were severely orthodox; they freely adopted the theology of the four, or the six, first councils; and, with the Athanasian creed, they pronounced the eternal damnation of all who did not believe the Catholic faith. Transubstantiation, the invisible change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, is a tenet which entangled the first Protestants in their own scruples, who were also awed by the words of Jesus in the institution of the sacrament. Luther maintained a corporeal, and Calvin a real, presence of Christ in the eucharist; and the opinion of Zuinglius, that it is no more than a spiritual communion, a simple memorial, has slowly prevailed in the reformed churches. But the loss of one mystery was amply compensated by the stupendous doctrines of original sin, redemption, faith, grace, and predestination; which were enforced by the reformers as the absolute and essential terms of salvation.

“The services of Luther and his rivals” (it must not be forgotten that we are quoting from a sceptic’s point of view) “are solid and important, and the philosopher must own his obligations to these fearless enthusiasts. *By their hands the lofty fabric of superstition, from the abuse of indulgences to the intercession of the Virgin, has been levelled with the ground. Myriads of both sexes were restored to the liberty and labours of social life. A hierarchy of saints and angels, of imperfect and subordinate deities, were stripped of their temporal power, and reduced to the enjoyment of celestial happiness; their images and relics were banished from the church; and the credulity of the people was no longer nourished with the daily repetition of miracles and visions. The imitation of Paganism was supplied by a pure and spiritual worship of prayer and thanksgiving, the most worthy of man, the least unworthy of the Deity.* It only remains to observe whether such sublime simplicity be consistent with popular devotion; whether the vulgar, in the absence of all visible objects, will not be inflamed by enthusiasm, or insensibly subside in languor and indifference.

The chain of authority was broken which restrains the bigot from thinking as he pleases, and the slave from speaking as he thinks; the popes, fathers, and councils, were no longer the supreme and infallible judges of the world; and each Christian was taught to acknowledge no law but the Scriptures, no interpreter but his own conscience. This freedom, however, was the consequence, rather than the design, of the Reformation. The patriot reformers were ambitious of succeeding the tyrants whom they had dethroned. They imposed with equal rigour their creeds and confessions; they asserted the right of the magistrates to punish heretics with death. The pious or personal animosity of Calvin proscribed in Servetus the guilt of his own rebellion, and the flames of Smithfield, in which he was afterwards consumed, had been kindled for the Anabaptists by the zeal of Cranmer. The nature of the tiger was the same, but he was gradually deprived of his teeth and fangs. A spiritual and temporal kingdom was possessed by the Roman pontiff; the Protestant doctors were subjects of an humble rank, without revenue or jurisdiction. *His* decrees were consecrated by the antiquity of the Catholic church; *their* arguments and disputes were submitted to the people; and their appeal to private judgment was accepted beyond their wishes, by curiosity and enthusiasm. Since the days of Luther and Calvin, a secret reformation has been silently working in the bosom of the reformed churches; many weeds of prejudice were eradicated; and the disciples of Erasmus diffused a spirit of freedom and moderation. The liberty of conscience has been claimed as a common benefit, an inalienable right; the free governments of Holland and England" (subsequently noted in the prophecy as we shall see) "introduced the practice of toleration; and the narrow allowance of the laws has been enlarged by the prudence and humanity of the times. In the exercise, the mind has understood the limits of its powers, and the words and shadows that might amuse the child can no longer satisfy his manly reason. The volumes of controversy are overspread with cobwebs; the doctrine of a Protestant church is far removed from the knowledge or belief of its private

members; and the forms of orthodoxy, the articles of faith, are subscribed with a sigh or a smile by the modern clergy. Yet the friends of Christianity are alarmed at the boundless impulse of inquiry and scepticism. The predictions of the Catholics are accomplished; the web of mystery is unravelled by the Arminians, Arians, and Socinians, whose numbers must not be computed from their separate congregations; and the pillars of revelation are shaken by those men who preserve the name without the substance of religion, who indulge the license, without the temper of philosophy."

Such is Gibbon's review of the character and consequences of the Reformation, the great historical feature of the age succeeding the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The immediate effect produced by the preaching of the early reformers, as related by Gibbon, testify the importance of their mission, and proclaim their appearance on the world's platform as the fulfillers of prophecy; and as the Turks were the heroes of the first part of the sixth trumpet's proclamations, the instruments of the fall of Constantinople, and the subverters of Roman authority in the east, so Mezeray, an eminent French historian of the kings of France, a Roman Catholic, exhibits the Turks also as the visible, though indirect, cause of the Reformers being roused into active opposition to the errors of the period. By thus connecting them, he supplies another interesting instance of historic correspondence, inasmuch as such a connection is shown in the prophecy by the successive figurations being embraced under the same trumpet. The historian says, his date being 1517:—

"Christendom enjoyed a most perfect calm, when she was troubled with two of the most horrible scourges or plagues, that did ever torment her. Selim, the Turkish Sultan, having conquered Syria, laid Ismael Sophy's power in the dust, extinguished the domination of the Mamalucs in Egypt, by the utter defeat and death of Campson, the last Egyptian sultan, vaunted that in quality of successor to Constantine the Great, he should soon bring all Europe under his empire; and at the same time the bowels of the

church began to be torn and rent, by a Schisme, that hitherto no remedies have been able to take away. *The first evil gave occasion to the birth of the second.* Pope Leo, desiring to oppose all the forces of Christendom, against the furious progress of the Turks, had sent his legates to all the Christian princes, and formed a great project to attack the infidels, both by sea and land. Now, to excite the people's devotion, and get their alms and benevolence for so good a work, he sent some, according to the usual custom in such cases practised, to preach indulgences in every province. This commission, according to the allotments made a long time amongst the four Orders Mendicants, belonged to the Augustins in Germany; nevertheless Albert, Archbishop of Mentz, either of his own head, or by order from Rome, allots and gives it to the Jacobins. The Augustins, finding themselves wronged in their interest, which is the great spring, even of the most religious societies, complain, make a noise, and fly to revenge." (This Roman Catholic view is refuted by facts, as will be presently seen.) "Amongst those there was a monk named Martin Luther, of Islebe, in the county of Mansfield, Doctor and Reader in Theologie, in the University of Witemberg, a bold spirit, impetuous and eloquent; John Stampis, their general, commanded him to preach against these Questors. They furnished him but with too much matter; for they made traffick and merchandize of those sacred treasures of the church; they kept their Courts or Shops rather in Taverns, and consumed great part of what they gained or collected in Debauches, and it was certainly known, besides, that the Pope intended to apply considerable Summs to his own proper use.

"Perhaps it would have been better done to prevent these Disorders, only to have removed the occasion of his clamour; but the thing seemed not worth while to trouble their Heads about it. In the meantime, the Quarrel grew high, and was heated by Declamations, Theses, and books on either side. Frederic, duke of Saxony, whose Wisdom and Virtue was exemplary in Germany, maintained him and even animated him, as well for the honour of his new University of Witemberg, which this monk had brought in

reputation, as in hatred to the Archbishop of Mentz, with whom he had other disputes. He at first began with proposing of Doubts, then being hard beset, and too roughly handled, he engaged to maintain and make them good, in the very Sence they condemned them in. They had neither the Discretion to stop his Mouth, or seize upon him; but threatening him before he was in their Power, he takes shelter; and then keeping no more Decorum, he throws off his Mask, and not only declaimed against the Pope, and against the Corruptions of the Court of Rome, but likewise opposed the church of Rome, in many points of Her Doctrine.

“ And truly the extreme ignorance of the Clergy, many of them scarce able to read, the scandalous Lives of the Pastors, most of them Concubinaries, Drunkards and Usurers, and their extreme negligence gave him a fair advantage to persuade the People, that the Religion they taught was corrupt, since their Lives and Examples were so bad. At the same time, or as others say, a Year before, to wit, in Anno 1516, Ulric Zuinglius, Curate at Zurich, began to expose his Doctrine in that Swisse Canton; and since, almost every year, new Evangelists have arisen, in such Swarms, that it would be difficult to number them.”

Dr. Mosheim says :—

“ The most momentous event that distinguished the church after the fifteenth century, and we may add the most glorious of all the revolutions that happened in the state of Christianity since the time of its divine and immortal Founder, was that happy change introduced into religion, which is known by the title of the Blessed Reformation. This grand revolution, which arose in Saxony from small beginnings, not only spread itself with the utmost rapidity through all the European provinces, but also extended its efficacy more or less to the most distant parts of the globe, and may be justly considered as the main and principal spring which has moved the nations from that illustrious period, and occasioned the greatest part of those civil and religious revolutions that fill the annals of history down to our times. The face of Europe was, in a more especial manner, changed

by this great event. The present age feels yet, in a sensible manner, and ages to come will continue to perceive, the inestimable advantages it produced, and the inconveniences of which it has been the innocent occasion. The history therefore of such an important revolution, from whence so many others have derived their origin, and whose relations and connections are so extensive and universal, demands undoubtedly a peculiar degree of attention."

J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, after exhibiting the errors of the professing church, penance, flagellations, indulgences, and purgatory, says:—"The evil could not go farther. Then the Reformer arose. To establish a mediating caste between man and God, and insist that the salvation which God gives shall be purchased by works, penances, and money, is the Papacy. To give to all by Jesus Christ without a human mediator, and without that power, which is called the church, free access to the great gift of eternal life, which God bestows on man, is Christianity and the Reformation. The Papacy is an immense wall raised between man and God by the labour of ages. The Reformation is the power which threw down this wall, restored Christ to man, and levelled the path by which he may come to his Creator. The Papacy interposes the church between God and man. Christianity and the Reformation make them meet face to face. The Papacy separates, the Gospel unites them." Having further related the abuses of the professing church, the immoralities and ignorance of the clergy, and their dissolute fêtes, he says:—"Such are some of the consequences of the system under which Christendom then groaned. Our picture undoubtedly proves both the corruption of the church and the necessity of a reformation. The vital doctrines of Christianity had almost entirely disappeared. The strength of the church had been wasted, and its body, enfeebled and exhausted, lay stretched almost without life, over the whole extent which the Roman empire had occupied."

Such are the testimonies of various historians to the dominant feature in the annals of the sixteenth century. Their general correspondence with the figurations of the

prophecy will be readily recognised, so that the special features of the vision have only now to be illustrated.

Not forgetting the previous statement that the spirit of the symbolic angel acting in the world, rather than any particular human agent, was represented by his appearance in the vision, the prominent mention in the foregoing, of the name of Martin Luther, combines with that of numerous other historians to exhibit that early Reformer as the principal actor in the events referred to. As such, he would be entitled to be considered the chief visible personator of the Apocalyptic angel, and his characteristics and actions required to be in strict accordance with the influence inspiring him. At the same time, as the names of Zuinglius and Calvin are also mentioned by Gibbon to have been pronounced with gratitude as the deliverers of nations, and history has recorded many others who were at this period conspicuous in furthering the reformation of the church, a general exhibition by all of a similar inspiration, is required to place history and revelation in perfect correspondence.

It may be stated that the historians of the Reformation of the sixteenth century almost invariably introduce their subject by a recital of the corruptions then existing in the visible church, all of which are embraced by the brief but comprehensive Apocalyptic announcement, "And the rest of the men which were not killed by these plagues, yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood; which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk: neither repented they of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornication, nor of their thefts."

The prevalence of strong indications of some powerful counteracting intervention is also a subject of general notice. Dr. Mosheim says:—"About the commencement of the sixteenth century, the Roman pontiffs lived in the utmost tranquillity; nor had they, as things appeared to be situated, the least reason to apprehend any opposition to their pretensions, or rebellion against their authority; since those dreadful commotions, which had been excited in the preceding ages by the Waldenses, Albigenses, and Beghards,

and lately by the Bohemians were entirely suppressed, and had yielded to the united powers of counsel and the sword. We must not however conclude from this apparent tranquillity and security of the pontiffs and their adherents, that their measures were applauded, or their chains worn without reluctance. This was far from being the case. Not only private persons, but also the most powerful princes and sovereign states, exclaimed loudly against the despotic kingdom of the pontiffs; the fraud, violence, avarice, and injustice that prevailed in their councils; the arrogance, tyranny, and extortion of their legates; the unbridled licentiousness and enormous crimes of the clergy and monks of all denominations; the unrighteous severity and partiality of the Roman laws; and demanded publicly, as their ancestors had done before them, a reformation of the church, in its head and in its members, and a general council to accomplish that necessary and happy purpose."

It will be therefore seen how exactly the progressive stages of the prophecy and of history agree. Mosheim further says, "While the Roman pontiff slumbered in security at the head of the church, and saw nothing throughout the vast extent of his dominions but tranquillity and submission; and while the worthy and pious professors of genuine Christianity almost despaired of seeing that reformation on which their most ardent desires and expectations were bent; *an obscure and inconsiderable person arose on a sudden in the year 1517, and laid the foundation of this long expected change by opposing with undaunted resolution his single force to the torrent of papal ambition and despotism.* This extraordinary man was Martin Luther."

D'Aubigné says:—"Everything announced that a great revolution was at hand. The powerful aid which God had designed to employ was nowhere to be seen. All however felt that it must soon make its appearance, while some even pretended to have seen indications of it in the stars. One class, seeing the miserable state of religion, predicted the near approach of Antichrist. Another class predicted a speedy reformation. The world was waiting. Luther appeared. All was ready. To do great things by small

means, is the law of God. God took the Reformers of the church, where he had taken the Apostles. He selected them from a humble class. Everything must manifest to the world that the work is not of man, but of God. The Reformer Zuinglius comes forth from the hut of a shepherd of the Alps; Melancthon, the theologian of the Reformation, from the workshop of an armourer, and Luther from the cottage of a poor miner. Luther had attained his eighteenth year. It was resolved that the young student should repair to Erfurt. He arrived at this university in 1501. Every moment which the young student could spare from his academical labours was spent in the library of the university. Books were still rare, and he felt it to be a great privilege to be able to avail himself of the treasures amassed in this vast collection. One day (he had been then two years at Erfurt, and was twenty years of age) he opens several books of the library, one after the other, to see who the authors were. One of the volumes which he opens in its turn attracts his attention. He has never before seen one like it. He reads the title. It is a Bible! a rare book, at that time unknown. His interest is strongly excited; he is perfectly astonished to find in this volume anything more than those fragments of gospels and epistles which the Church has selected to be read publicly in the churches every Sabbath day. Hitherto he had believed that these formed the whole word of God. But here are so many pages, chapters, and books, of which he had no idea. His heart beats as he holds in his hand all this divinely-inspired Scripture, and he turns over all these divine leaves with feelings which cannot be described."

Luther says:—"Under the papacy the Bible was generally unknown. Carlstadt had been in the university eight years before he read it. His preceptor, Usingen, on seeing him attentively reading the Bible, pronounced it to be the source of every trouble." "Who now reads the Bible?" said the librarian Alberico, "it is a book almost disused." Pellicanus states "That just before the Reformation, a Greek testament could not be procured at any price through all Germany."

Not only did a general ignorance as to its existence prevail, but a general proscription of its truths by those more informed. According to Sismondi, a French monk announced from his pulpit, "A new language, called Greek, has been introduced. It must be carefully guarded against. It engenders all sorts of heresies. I see in the hands of many a book written in this language. It is called the New Testament. It is full of briars and serpents."

An exhibition of the Bible, at this period, being made the subject of prophecy, will therefore excite no surprise; nor that its announced truths were symbolised by "a lion's roar"; nor, again, that the thunders from the seven hills of Rome were inefficient to stay the power of the gospel preachers; nor that Luther was amazed at the discovery he had made; nor that what he read inspired him with new thoughts and changed the course and purpose of his studies. D'Aubigné continues:—"Luther returns home, his heart full. 'Oh,' thinks he, 'would it please God to give me such a book for my own!' Luther did not as yet know either Greek or Hebrew. The Bible, which had so overjoyed him was in Latin. Soon returning to his treasure in the library, he reads and re-reads, and in his astonishment and joy returns to read again. In this way God has put him in possession of his word. He has discovered the book, of which he is one day to give his countrymen that admirable translation in which Germany has now for three centuries perused the oracles of God. It was perhaps the first time that any hand had taken down this precious volume from the place which it occupied in the library of Erfurt. This book, lying on the unknown shelves of an obscure chamber, is to become the book of life to a whole people. The Reformation was hid in that Bible.

"Luther was disposed to devote himself entirely to law, agreeably to his father's wish. But God willed otherwise. His heart ceased not to cry to him that piety was the one thing needful, and that he ought above all to make sure of his salvation. He was aware of the displeasure which God testifies against sin; he remembered the punishments which he denounces against the sinner; and he asked himself in

fear, whether he was sure of possessing the Divine favour. His conscience answered, No. His character was prompt and decided ; he resolved to do all that might be necessary to give him a sure hope of immortality. Two events which happened in succession, precipitated his determination. His intimate friend, Alexis, had been assassinated. ‘What would become of me were I called thus suddenly?’ The question fills him with the greatest dismay.

“Within a short distance of Erfurt, he was overtaken by one of those violent storms, not unfrequent among these mountains. The thunder bursts, and strikes close by his side. Luther throws himself upon his knees. It may be his hour is come. Death, judgment, and eternity, surround him with all their terrors. ‘Wrapt in agony, and in the terror of death,’ as he himself describes it, he makes a vow if he is delivered from this danger to abandon the world, and give himself entirely to God. He enters Erfurt, he gives no hint to any one of his intentions. But one evening, he invites his friends in the university to a cheerful and frugal repast. It is Luther’s adieu to the world. That same night, after combating the entreaties of his friends to abandon his intention, which he declared to them only at the last moment, he proceeds alone, in the dark, to the convent of the Eremites of St. Augustine and asks to be received. The door opens and closes. This took place on the 17th August, 1505, when Luther’s age was twenty-one years and nine months. At this time Luther was not in possession of that which was afterwards to make him the Reformer of the church.” Had D’Aubigné been purposely illustrating the prophecy, he would have added “he was not yet clothed with a cloud,” neither was he illumined with gospel truth, nor did the symbolic rainbow appear around his head. D’Aubigné continues, “His entrance into the convent proves this. It was an action done in the spirit of an age out of which he was soon to be instrumental in raising the church. Though destined to become the teacher of the world, he was still its servile imitator. A new stone was placed on the edifice of superstition by the very hand which was soon to overturn it. Luther was

seeking salvation in himself, in human practices and observances, not knowing that salvation is wholly of God. He was seeking his own righteousness and his own glory, and overlooking the righteousness and glory of the Lord. But what he as yet knew not, he soon afterwards learned. That immense change which substituted God and his wisdom in his heart for the world and its traditions, and which prepared the mighty revolution of which he was the most illustrious instrument, took place in the cloister of Erfurt.

“The monks had received him with joy. Nevertheless they treated him harshly, and assigned him the meanest tasks. Worn out with fatigue, he was eager to seize any moment for the acquisition of knowledge. Gladly did he retire into a corner, and give himself up to his beloved studies. But the friars soon found him out, gathered around him, grumbled at him, and pushed him away to his labours, saying, ‘Along, along, it is not by studying, but by begging bread, corn, eggs, fish, flesh, and money, that a friar makes himself useful to his convent.’ Luther submitted, laid aside his books, and again took up his bag. This severe apprenticeship, however, did not last so long as Luther might have feared. The prior of the convent, on the intercession of the university of which Luther was a member, relieved him from the mean functions, which had been imposed on him. He gave himself up to study. In public discussions he was heard unravelling the most complicated reasonings, and winding his way through labyrinths where others could find no outlet. All who heard him were filled with admiration. But he had entered the cloister in quest of the food of piety. He delighted above all other things to draw wisdom at the pure fountain of the word of God. In the convent he found a Bible fastened to a chain, and was ever returning to this chained Bible. He had a very imperfect comprehension of the Word, but still it was his most pleasant reading. Earnestly intent on acquiring the holiness in quest of which he had entered the cloister, Luther addicted himself to the ascetic life in its fullest rigour, seeking to crucify the flesh by fastings, macerations, and vigils. At the period of which we treat, there is no sacrifice he would have declined to

make, in order to become holy and purchase heaven. When Luther, after he had become Reformer, says that heaven is not purchased, he well knew what he meant. ‘Truly,’ wrote he to George, Duke of Saxony, ‘truly I was a pious monk, and followed the rules of my order more strictly than I can tell. If ever monk had got to heaven by monkery, I had been that monk. In this all the monks of my acquaintance will bear me witness. Had the thing continued much longer I had become a martyr unto death, through vigils, prayer, reading, and other labours.’

“We are touching on the period which made Luther a new man, and which, revealing to him the immensity of the Divine love, fitted him for proclaiming it to the world. The peace which Luther had come in search of, he found neither in the tranquillity of the convent nor in monastic perfection. He wished to be assured of his salvation, and without it he could have no repose. But the fears which had agitated him in the world, followed him into his cell. His conscience, enlightened by the Divine word, told him what it was to be holy ; but he was filled with alarm at not finding, either in his heart, or in his life, that image of holiness which he had contemplated with admiration in the Word of God. No righteousness within, no righteousness without, everywhere omission, sin, defilement. This threw him into despair. ‘I felt myself,’ said he, ‘to be a great sinner before God, and deemed it impossible to appease him by my merits. I tormented myself to death in order to procure peace with God, to my troubled heart and conscience, but surrounded with fearful darkness, I nowhere found it. At the time when I was a monk, if I felt some temptation assail me, I am lost ! said I to myself, and immediately resorted to a thousand methods, in order to suppress the cries of my heart. I confessed every day, but that did me no good. It is of no use then, O wretch, for you to have entered this sacred order.’

“Struggling alternately with *the holy voice which spoke to his heart*, and with venerable institutions, which had the sanction of ages, Luther’s life was a continual combat. The young monk, like a shade, glided through the long pas-

sages of the cloister. His body pined away, and his strength left him; on different occasions, he remained as if he were dead. Once, overwhelmed with sadness, he shut himself up in his cell, and for several days and nights allowed no one to approach him. Lucas Edemberger, one of his friends, feeling uneasy about the unhappy monk, and having some presentiment of the state in which he actually was, taking with him several boys who were accustomed to chant in choirs, went and knocked at the door of his cell. No one opens or answers. Good Edemberger, still more alarmed, forces the door. Luther is stretched on the floor insensible, and showing no signs of life. His friend strives in vain to revive him, but he still remains motionless. The young boys begin to chant a soft anthem. Their pure voices act like a charm on the poor monk, who had always the greatest delight in music, and he gradually recovered sensation, consciousness, and life. But if music could for some moments give him a slight degree of serenity, another and more powerful remedy was wanted to cure him effectually—that soft and penetrating sound of the gospel, which is the voice of God himself. He was well aware of this, and, accordingly, his sorrows and alarms led him to study the writings of the apostles and prophets with renewed zeal.”

Thus was Luther painfully but effectually prepared for his subsequent investiture with the characteristics of the Apocalyptic angel. D'Aubigné continues:—“Luther was not the first monk who had passed through similar struggles. A young man had in this way attracted notice in one of the convents in Germany. He was named John Staupitz, and was of a noble family in Misnia.” (Mezeray has named him Stampas). “The study of the Bible, and of the theology of St. Augustine, the knowledge of himself, and the war which he, like Luther, had to wage against the wiles and lusts of his heart, led him to the Redeemer, through faith in whom he found peace to his soul. The doctrine of the election of grace had, in particular, taken a firm hold of his mind. The elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise, made him his friend, employed him on different

embassies, and under his direction founded the University of Wittemberg. He ultimately became the vicar-general of the Augustins all over Germany. We have seen the anguish and inward wrestlings to which Luther was a prey in the convent of Erfurt. At this time a visit from the vicar-general was announced, and Staupitz accordingly arrived to make his ordinary inspection. It was not long ere Luther attracted his attention. His eyes, which, at a later period, were compared to those of the falcon, were sunken, his gait was sad, his bones might be counted. His whole appearance had in it something grave, melancholy, and solemn. Staupitz, whose discernment had been improved by long experience, easily discovered what was passing in the soul of the young friar, and singled him out from those around him. He felt drawn towards him, had a presentiment of his high destiny, and experienced the interest of a parent for his subaltern. He, too, had struggled, like Luther, and could therefore understand his situation. Above all, he could show him the way of peace, which he himself had found. Going kindly up to him he took every means to remove his timidity, which was moreover increased by the respect and reverence which the elevated rank of Staupitz naturally inspired. The heart of Luther, till then closed by harsh treatment, opened at last, and expanded to the mild rays of charity. The heart of Staupitz answered to the heart of Luther. The vicar-general understood him; and the monk felt a confidence in Staupitz which no one had hitherto inspired. He revealed to him the cause of his sadness, depicted the fearful thoughts which agitated him, and then in the cloister of Erfurt commenced a conversation full of wisdom and instruction. The young monk is terrified at the thought of the Divine justice, and lays all his fears before the vicar-general. Staupitz knows where he has found peace, and says, 'Why torment thyself with all these speculations and high thoughts? Look to the wounds of Jesus Christ, to the blood which he has shed for thee; then thou shalt see the grace of God. Instead of making a martyr of thyself for thy faults, throw thyself into the arms of the Redeemer. Confide in him, in the

righteousness of his life, and the expiation of his death. Keep not back, God is not angry with thee; it is thou who art angry with God. Listen to the Son of God who became man in order to assure thee of the Divine favour.' Luther replies, 'How dare I believe in the favour of God, while there is nothing in me like true conversion?' His venerable guide shows him that there can be no true conversion while God is dreaded as a severe Judge. 'What will you say, then,' exclaims Luther, 'of the many consciences, to which a thousand unsupportable observances are prescribed as a means of gaining heaven?' Then he hears this reply from the vicar-general, or rather his belief is, that it comes not from man, but is *a voice sounding from heaven*. 'No repentance,' says Staupitz, 'is true, save that which begins with the love of God and of righteousness. If thou wouldst be converted, dwell not upon all these lacerations and tortures. Love Him who first loved thee!' Luther listens and listens again. These consoling words fill him with unknown joy, and give him new light. 'It is Jesus Christ!' thinks he in his heart. '*Yes, it is Jesus Christ himself, who consoles me so wonderfully by the sweet and salutary words.*'"

Luther's gradual investiture with the characteristics symbolized in the vision by the cloud, radiating light, and rainbow, will be observed with interest, as indicating that the spirit of the gospel-revealing angel has begun to inspire the human agency destined to commence and advance the fulfilment of the foreshown events. D'Aubigné continues:—

"These words, in fact, penetrated to the inmost heart of the young monk, like the sharp arrow of a mighty man. *Illumined with this new light*, he proceeds to examine the Scriptures, searching out all the passages which speak of repentance and conversion. These words, till now so much dreaded, become, to use his own expression, 'an agreeable sport, and the most delightful recreation.' All the passages of Scripture which frightened him seem now to rise up from all sides, 'smiling, and leaping, and sporting with him.' 'Hitherto,' exclaims he, 'though I carefully disguised the state of my heart, and strove to give utterance to a love,

which was only constrained and fictitious, Scripture did not contain a word which seemed to me more *bitter* than that of repentance. Now, however, there is none *sweeter* and more agreeable. Oh, how pleasant the precepts of God are, when we read them not only in books, but in the precious wounds of the Saviour.' His cry *was*, 'O my sin! my sin! my sin!' *now* it is, 'O blessed sin, to merit such a Redeemer!' Light sprung up. The gracious word has been pronounced, and he believes it. He renounces the idea of meriting salvation, and puts implicit confidence in the grace of God through Jesus Christ. He does not see all the consequences of the principle which he has admitted; he is still sincere in his attachment to the church, and yet he has no longer need of her. He has received salvation immediately from God himself; and from that moment, Roman Catholicism is virtually destroyed in him.

"Luther had been two years in the cloister, and must now be consecrated priest. Luther wrote to his friend John Braun, the vicar of Isenach, on the 22nd April, 1507. It is the Reformer's earliest letter, and bears the following address:—'To John Braun, Holy and Venerable Priest of Christ and Mary.' It is only in the two first letters of Luther, that the name of Mary occurs. He writes, 'God, who is glorious and holy in all His works, having designed to exalt me exceedingly,—me, a miserable and every way unworthy sinner, and to call me solely out of his abundant mercy, to his sublime ministry, it is my duty, in order to testify my gratitude for a goodness so divine and so magnificent (as far at least as dust can do it) to fulfil with my whole heart the office which is entrusted to me.'

"At length the day arrived. The ceremony took place. At the moment of conferring on Luther the right to celebrate mass, the officiating bishop put the chalice into his hands, uttering those solemn words, 'Receive power to sacrifice for the living and the dead.' Luther then listened complacently to these words, which gave him the power of doing the very work appropriated to the Son of God; but they afterwards made him shudder. 'That the earth did not swallow us both,' said he, 'was more than we deserved,

and was owing to the great patience and long-suffering of the Lord.' Luther was not to remain in an obscure convent, Staupitz mentioned him to Frederick of Saxony, and this enlightened prince, in 1508, invited him to a chair in the university of Wittemberg. Wittemberg was a field on which he was to fight hard battles; and Luther felt that his vocation was there. Being required to repair promptly to his new post, he answered the appeal without delay. Luther had been three years in the cloister of Erfurt. The studies in which he was obliged to engage were afterwards of great service to him in combating the errors of the schoolmen. Here, however, he could not stop. The desire of his heart must be accomplished. *The same power which formerly pushed him from the bar into the monastic life, now pushed him from philosophy towards THE BIBLE.* He zealously commenced the study of ancient languages, especially in Greek and Hebrew, that he might be able to draw science and learning from the fountain head. Some months after his arrival at the university he applied for the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, and obtained it in the end of March, 1509, with a special injunction to devote himself to biblical theology. Every day at one, Luther had to lecture on the Bible. After retiring to his quiet cell, he spent hours in the study of the Divine word—the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans lying open before him. One day, coming to the seventeenth verse of the first chapter, he read these words, 'The just shall live by faith.' He is struck with the expression. 'The just, then, have a different life from other men, and this life is given by faith.' These words, which he receives into his heart as if God himself had there deposited them, unveils the mystery of the Christian life to him. Long after, in the midst of his numerous labours, he thought he still heard a voice, saying to him, '*The just shall live by faith.*'

"Luther's lectures had little resemblance to those which had hitherto been delivered. A Christian spoke, who had felt the power of revealed truth—truth which he derived from the Bible, and presented to his astonished hearers, all full of life, as it came from the treasury of his heart. This novel exposition of the truth was much talked of. The news

spread far and wide. ("His right foot is on the sea, and his left foot on the earth.") He attracted a great number of foreign students to the recently founded university. 'This monk,' said Mellerstadt, often surnamed "The light of the world," will send all the doctors to the right about. He will introduce a new doctrine, and reform the whole church, for he founds upon the word of God; and no man in the world can either combat or overthrow this word, even though he should attack it with all the weapons of philosophy, the sophists, Scotists, Albertists, Thomists, and the whole fraternity.'

"Staupitz, who was the instrument in the hand of Providence to unfold the gifts and treasures hidden in Luther, invited him to preach in the church of the Augustins. The young professor recoiled at this proposal. In vain did Staupitz urge him. 'No, no,' replied he, 'it is no light matter to speak to men in the place of God.' Staupitz insisted—Luther behoved to yield. In the middle of the public square of Wittemberg was a wooden chapel, thirty feet long by twenty wide, whose sides, propped up in all directions, were falling to decay. An old pulpit made of fir, three feet in height, received the preacher. In this miserable chapel, the preaching of the Reformation commenced. God was pleased that that which was to establish his glory should have the humblest origin. The foundation of the church of the Augustins had just been laid, and until it should be finished this humble church was employed. "This building," adds the contemporary of Luther who relates these circumstances, 'may well be compared to the stable in which Christ was born. It was in this miserable inclosure that God was pleased, so to speak, *to make His beloved Son be born a second time*. Among the thousands of cathedrals and parish churches with which the world abounded, there was then only one which God selected for the glorious preaching of eternal life.' Luther preaches. 'Endowed,' says one of his opponents, 'with a keen and acute intellect, and a retentive memory, Luther, in point of eloquence, yielded to none of his age. Discoursing from the pulpit as if he had been agitated by some strong passion,

and suiting his action to his words, he produced a wonderful impression on the minds of his hearers, and like a torrent carried them along wherever he wished.' 'He had,' said Bossuet, 'a lively and impetuous eloquence, which hurried people away, and entranced them.' In a short time the little chapel could not contain the hearers who crowded to it. The council of Wittemberg then made choice of Luther for their preacher, and appointed him to preach in the town church. The impression which he produced here was still greater. His reputation spread far and wide, and Frederick the Wise himself once came to Wittemberg to hear him. Luther had commenced a new life. He was now in his place, his internal harmony and peace was restored, and the work of God was soon to exhibit its majestic step.

"In 1510, or according to some not till 1511 or 1512, he was sent to Rome. Some convents of his order having differed on certain points with the vicar-general, Luther was selected to plead the cause of these monasteries before the pope. This divine dispensation was necessary to Luther, for it was requisite that he should know Rome. Full of the prejudices and illusions of the cloister, he had always represented it to himself as the seat of holiness. He accordingly set out, but scarcely had he descended into the plains of rich and voluptuous Italy, than he found at every step subjects of astonishment and scandal. He was received in a rich convent of Benedictines, situated upon the Pô in Lombardy. The gorgeousness of the apartments, the beauty of the dresses and the rarities of the table, all astonished Luther. Marble, and silk, and luxury, under all its forms. He was astonished and said nothing; but when Friday came, how surprised was he to see abundance of meat still covering the tables of the Benedictines. Then he resolved to speak out. 'The church and the pope,' said he to them, 'forbid such things.' The Benedictines were indignant. The porter of the convent having warned him that he ran a risk in staying longer, he made his escape from this epicurean monastery, and arrived at Bologna, where he fell dangerously sick. This sickness was not to be unto death, but for the glory of God. The agonies which he had felt at Erfurt

returned with all their force. The conviction of his sins troubled, while the prospect of the judgment of God terrified him. But at the moment when those terrors were at the worst, the passage of St. Paul, which had struck him at Wittemberg, 'the just shall live by faith,' presented itself to his mind, and illumined his soul as with a ray of light from heaven. Revived and comforted, he soon recovered his health, and resumed his journey to Rome, expecting he should there find quite a different life from that of the Lombard convents. After a painful journey he drew near to the city of the seven hills. His heart was moved, and his eyes looked for the queen of the world, and of the church. As soon as he had obtained a distant view of the eternal city, the city of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the metropolis of Catholicism, he threw himself on the ground exclaiming, 'Holy Rome, I salute thee.'

"Luther is in Rome. Ardent and simple-hearted, he went up and down, visiting all the churches and chapels, believing all the lies that were told him, and devoutly performing the requisite acts of holiness; happy in being able to do so many pious works, which were denied to his countrymen. He had found the light, but the darkness was still far from being entirely banished from his understanding. His heart was changed, but his heart was not fully enlightened. He possessed faith and love, but not knowledge. It was a work of no small difficulty to escape from the dark night which had for *so many ages* covered the earth. Luther repeatedly said mass at Rome. But how grieved was the Saxon monk at seeing the profane formality of the Roman priests. The priests, on their part, laughed at his simplicity. One day when he was officiating, he found that at the altar next to him seven masses had been read before he got through a single one. 'Get on, get on,' cried one of the priests to him, 'make haste and send our Lady back her Son,' making an impious allusion to the transubstantiation of the bread into the body and blood of Jesus Christ. His astonishment was still greater when, in the dignitaries of the church, he discovered the same thing that he had found in common priests. It was fashionable at the papal

court to attack Christianity, and in order to pass for a complete gentleman, absolutely necessary to hold some erroneous or heretical opinion on the doctrines of the church. Luther's employment, as envoy of the Augustins of Germany, caused him to be invited to several meetings of distinguished ecclesiastics. One day, in particular, he happened to be at table with several prelates, who frankly exhibited themselves to him in their mountebank manners and profane conversations. Among other things they related, in presence of the monk, laughing and making a boast of it, how when they were saying mass, instead of the sacramental words, which should transform the bread and wine into the Saviour's flesh and blood, they parodied them and said, 'Bread thou art, and bread wilt remain; wine thou art, and wine thou wilt remain. Then,' continued they, 'we raise the ostensorium, and all the people worship it.' Luther could scarcely believe his ears. 'I was,' said he, 'a young monk, grave and pious, and these words distressed me greatly. If they speak thus in Rome at table, freely and publicly, thought I to myself, what will it be if their actions correspond to their words, and if all, pope, cardinals, courtiers, say mass in the same style? And I, who have devoutly heard so large a number read, how must I have been deceived.' Luther had dreamed of nothing but holiness, but he discovered nothing but profanation. 'It is almost incredible what sins and infamous actions are committed at Rome,' says he, 'one would require to see it and hear it in order to believe it. Hence, it is an ordinary saying, that if there is a hell, Rome is built upon it. It is an abyss from whence all sins proceed.'

"This journey was of great importance to Luther. Not only was the veil torn away, and the sardonic smile, and mountebank infidelity which lurked behind the Roman superstitions, revealed to the future Reformer; but, moreover, the living faith which God had implanted in him, was powerfully strengthened. We have seen how he at first entered devotedly into all the vain observances, to which, as a price, the church has annexed the expiation of sins. One day, wishing to gain an indulgence which the pope had

promised to everyone who should on his knees climb up what is called Pilate's Stair, the Saxon monk was humbly crawling up the steps, which he was told had been miraculously transported to Rome from Jerusalem. But while he was engaged in this meritorious act, he thought he heard a voice of thunder, which cried at the bottom of his heart, as at Wittemberg and Bologna, 'The just shall live by faith.' These words, which had already on two different occasions struck him like the voice of an angel of God, resounded loudly and incessantly within him. He rises up in amazement from the steps, along which he was dragging his body. Horrified at himself, and ashamed to see how far superstition has abased him, he flies far from the scene of his folly.

"In regard to this mighty word there is something mysterious in the life of Luther. It proved a creating word both for the Reformer and for the Reformation. It was by it that God then said, 'Let light be, and light was.' It is often necessary that a truth, in order to produce its due effect on the mind, must be repeatedly presented to it. Luther had carefully studied the epistle to the Romans, and yet, though justification by faith is there taught, he had never seen it so clearly. Now he comprehends the righteousness which alone can stand in the presence of God; now he receives from God himself, by the hand of Christ, that obedience which he freely imputes to the sinner as soon as he humbly turns his eye to the God-man who was crucified. This is the decisive period in the internal life of Luther. The faith, which has saved him from the terrors of death, becomes the soul of his theology, his fortress in all dangers, the stamina of his discourse, the stimulant of his love, the foundation of his peace, the spur of his labours, his consolation in life and in death. But this great doctrine of a salvation which emanates from God and not from man, was not only the power of God to save the soul of Luther, it also became the power of God to reform the church; a powerful weapon which the apostles wielded, a weapon too long neglected; but at length brought forth in its primitive lustre from the arsenal of the mighty God. At the moment

when Luther stood up in Rome, all moved and thrilling with the words which Paul addressed fifteen centuries before to the inhabitants of this metropolis, truth, till then a fettered captive within the church, rose up also, never again to fall." Mark the illustration of "Thou must prophesy *again*, before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings." "Here we must let Luther speak for himself—'When, by the spirit of God, I comprehended these words; when I learned how the sinner's justification proceeds from the pure mercy of the Lord, by means of faith, then I felt myself revive like a new man, and entered at open doors into the very paradise of God. From that time, also, I beheld the precious sacred volume with new eyes. In truth, these words were to me the true germ of paradise.'" D'Aubigné continues:—

"Accordingly when called on solemn occasions to confess this doctrine, Luther always manifested his enthusiasm and rude energy. 'I see,' said he on a critical occasion, 'that the devil is incessantly attacking this fundamental article by the instrumentality of his doctors, and that, in this respect, he cannot rest or take any repose. Very well, I, Doctor Martin Luther, unworthy evangelist of our Lord Jesus Christ, hold this article—that faith alone, without works, justifies in the sight of God; and I declare that the emperor of the Romans, the emperor of the Turks, the emperor of the Tartars, the emperor of the Persians, the pope, all the cardinals, bishops, priests, monks, nuns, princes, and nobles, all men, and all devils, must let it stand, and allow it to remain for ever. If they will undertake to combat this truth, they will bring down the flames of hell upon their heads. This is the true and holy gospel, and the declaration of me, Doctor Luther, according to the light of the Holy Spirit. Nobody has died for our sins but Jesus Christ the son of God. I repeat it once more; should all the world and all the devils tear each other, and burst with fury, this is, nevertheless, true. And if it be He alone who takes away sin, it cannot be ourselves with our works; but good works follow redemption, as the fruit appears on the tree. This is our doctrine; and it is the doctrine which the Holy Spirit teaches with all

true Christians. We maintain it in the name of God—Amen.’ It was thus Luther found, what all doctors and reformers had, to a certain degree, failed to discover. It was in Rome that God gave him this clear view of the fundamental doctrine of Christianity. He had come to the city of the pontiffs seeking the solution of some difficulties relative to a monastic order, and he carried away in his heart the safety of the church.

“Luther quitted Rome and returned to Wittemberg, his heart full of sadness and indignation. Turning away his eyes in disgust from the pontifical city, he directed them in hope to the Holy Scriptures. The word of God gained in his heart all that the church lost in it. He detached himself from the one and turned to the other. The whole Reformation was in that movement. It put God where the priest had hitherto been. Staupitz and the elector did not lose sight of the monk. It would seem that the vicar-general had a presentiment of the work that was to be done in the world, and, feeling it too much for himself, wished to urge on Luther. There is nothing more remarkable and perhaps more mysterious “mark the recognition of the spirit of the Apocalyptic angel being at work” than this personage, who is ever found hurrying on the monk into the path to which God calls him; and who himself ultimately goes and sadly ends his days in a convent. The preaching of the young monk had made an impression on the prince. The elector and his friend, wishing to advance a man who gave such high hopes, resolved to make him take the honourable degree of Doctor of Divinity. Staupitz, repairing to the convent, led Luther into the garden, and there alone with him, under a tree, which Luther was afterwards fond of showing to his disciples, the venerable father said to him, ‘It is now necessary, my friend, that you become a doctor of the Holy Scriptures.’ ‘Look out,’ replied he, ‘for a more worthy person; as for me, I cannot consent to it.’ The vicar-general insisted—‘The Lord God has much to do in the church, and has need at present of young and vigorous doctors.’ ‘But I am sick and weakly,’ replied Luther, ‘and have not long to live. Seek a strong man.’ ‘The Lord,’

replied the vicar-general, 'has work in heaven as well as on the earth; dead or alive, God has need of you in His counsel.' 'None but the Holy Spirit can make a doctor of theology,' exclaimed the monk. 'Do what your convent asks,' said Staupitz, 'and what I, your vicar-general, command. You promised to obey us.' 'But my poverty,' replied the friar, 'I have no means of paying the expenses attendant on such promotion.' 'Give yourself no trouble about them,' replied his friend, 'the prince has been graciously pleased to take all the expenses on himself.'

"Luther, thus urged, saw it his duty to yield. On the 18th of October, 1512, Luther was admitted a licentiate in theology, and took the following oath:—'I swear to defend evangelical truth by every means in my power.' The following day, in the presence of a numerous assembly, was formally delivered to him the insignia of doctor of theology. The oath, which he then took, was, as he relates, to his well-beloved Holy Scripture. He promised to preach it faithfully, to teach it purely, to study it during his whole life, and to defend it by discussion and by writing, as far as God should enable him to do so. This solemn oath was Luther's call to be *The Reformer*. Called by the university and by his sovereign, in the name of the emperor and of the see of Rome itself, and bound before God, by the most solemn oath, *he was thenceforth the intrepid herald of the word of life*. On this memorable day Luther was dubbed knight of the Bible. Accordingly this oath taken to the Holy Scriptures, may be regarded as one of the causes of the renovation of the church. The infallible authority of the Word of God alone was the first and fundamental principle of the Reformation.

"All the reformations in detail which took place at a later period, were only consequences of this primary principle. One is scarcely able at the present time to form an idea of the sensation produced by this elementary principle, which is so simple in itself, but which had been lost sight of for so many ages." ("Thou must prophecy *again*"). "The bold voices of all the reformers soon proclaimed this powerful principle, at the sound of which Rome is destined to crumble away:—'Christians, receive no other doctrines than

those which are founded on the express words of Jesus Christ, his apostles, and prophets. No man, no assembly of doctors, are entitled to prescribe new doctrines.' The situation of Luther was changed. The call which the Reformer had received became to him like one of those extraordinary calls which the Lord addressed to the prophets under the old Dispensation, and to the apostles under the new. The solemn engagement which he undertook made so deep an impression on his mind, that, in the sequel, the remembrance of this oath was sufficient to console him amid the greatest dangers and the sharpest conflicts. And when he saw all Europe agitated and shaken by the word which he had announced" (mark the illustration of "And his right foot was on the sea, and his left foot on the earth"—also "of the lion's roar") "when it seemed that the accusations of Rome" ("the seven thunders uttered their voices") "the reproaches of many pious men, and the doubts and fears of his own easily-agitated heart, would make him hesitate, fear, and give way to despair, he called to mind the oath which he had taken, and remained firm, tranquil, and full of joy. 'I have advanced in the name of the Lord,' said he on a critical occasion, 'and I have put myself into His hands. His will be done. He who undertakes anything without a Divine call, seeks his own glory; but I, Doctor Martin Luther, was compelled to become a doctor. Papism sought to stop me in the discharge of my duty, and you see what has happened to it, and worse will happen. They will not be able to defend themselves against me. I desire in the name of the Lord to trample under foot the dragons and vipers. This will commence during my life, and be finished after my death.'"

This declaration of Luther's, it will be seen, furnishes an illustration of the angel's oath in the prophecy. Having recognised in the papacy, an enemy to the gospel which he has sworn to uphold, he emphatically announces the commencement of its fall during his life, that is, under the sixth trumpet; and its completion after his death, which may be figuratively referred to the seventh, the only trumpet remaining to be sounded.

Luther's investiture with the characteristics of a powerful messenger in the cause of Christ, may be now considered to be complete. The Bible is open in his hand. Its divine truths, especially those symbolised by the cloud and rainbow, are in his heart. His right foot is on the sea and his left foot upon the earth. His oath is taken, and his announcement made. The idea presented to the mind of the historian by the combination of events at this period, also accords well with that suggested by the prophetic terms. He says:—

“ From the hour when he took the oath Luther sought the truth solely for itself and for the church. Still deeply impressed with recollections of Rome, he saw indistinctly before him a course which he determined to pursue with all the energy of his soul. The spiritual life which had been hitherto manifested within him was now manifested outwardly. This was the third period of his development. His entrance into the convent had turned his thoughts towards God; the knowledge of the forgiveness of sins and of the righteousness of faith, had emancipated his soul; and his doctor's oath gave him that baptism of fire by which he became the Reformer of the church. His thoughts were soon directed in a general way to the subject of reformation. In a discourse which he had written, apparently with a view to its being announced by the Provost of Litzkau, at the Council of Lateran, he affirmed that the corruption of the world was occasioned by the priests, who, instead of preaching the pure word of God, taught so many fables and traditions. According to him the word of life alone had power to accomplish the spiritual regeneration of man. Hence, even at this period, he made the salvation of the world depend on the re-establishment of sound doctrine, and not on a mere reformation of manners. Luther was not always perfectly consistent with himself; he entertained contradictory opinions; but a powerful intellect was displayed in all his writings. He boldly broke the links by which the systems of the schools chained down human thought, passed beyond the limits to which past ages had attained, and formed new paths for himself. God was in him. ‘In my heart,’ said he, ‘faith in my Lord Jesus

Christ reigns sole, and sole ought to reign. He alone is the beginning, the middle, and the end of all the thoughts which occupy my mind night and day. The desire of justifying ourselves is the source of all anguish of heart, whereas he who receives Jesus Christ as a Saviour has peace, and purity of heart. Sanctification of the heart is entirely a fruit of faith; for faith is in us a Divine work, which changes us and gives us a new birth, emanating from God himself.'

"At this time Luther preached discourses on the Ten Commandments. He afterwards directs his discourse against the superstitions with which Christendom then abounded, against signs and mysterious characters, observations of certain days and certain months, familiar demons, ghosts, the influence of the stars and wizards, metamorphoses, the patronage of saints, etc., etc. He attacks these idols one after the other, and vigorously casts down these false gods. 'His mode of explaining the Scriptures,' says his illustrious friend Melancthon, 'was such, that in the judgment of all pious and enlightened men, it was as if a new light had risen upon doctrine after a long dark night. He brought back the hearts of men to the Son of God. The pious were charmed and penetrated with the sweetness of his doctrine, while the learned received it gladly. One would have said that Christ, the apostles and prophets, were coming forth from darkness and a loathsome dungeon.' The firmness with which Luther fortified himself by Scripture, gave a great authority to his teaching, while other circumstances added to his power. His life corresponded to his words—his discourses were not merely from the life, they came from the heart, and were exemplified in his conduct. And when the Reformation burst forth, many influential men, who were much grieved at seeing the rents that were made in the church, won over by the Reformer's purity of conduct, and his admirable talents, not only did not oppose him, but even embraced the doctrine to which his works bore testimony. The more they loved Christian virtue, the more they inclined to the Reformer. All honest theologians were in his favour. Such is the testimony of those who knew him,

in particular of Melancthon, the wisest man of his age, and Erasmus, Luther's celebrated opponent. Yet prejudice has dared to speak of his debauchery. Wittemberg was changed by this preaching of faith, and became the focus of a light which was soon to illumine Germany, and diffuse itself over the whole church. 'I should like much,' said he to friar George, 'to know how it is with your soul. Is it not weary of its own righteousness? does it not breathe at length and confide in the righteousness of Christ? In our day, pride seduces many, especially those who do their utmost to become righteous. Not comprehending the righteousness which is freely given us of God in Christ Jesus, they would stand before him by their merits. But that cannot be. When you lived with us you were in this error, as I also was. I am still constantly fighting with it, and have not yet completely triumphed. O, my dear brother, learn to know Christ, and Christ crucified. Learn to sing unto Him a new song; to despair of thyself, and say, Thou, O Lord Jesus! thou art my righteousness, and I am thy sin! Thou hast taken what is mine, and given me what is thine. What thou wert not, thou hast become, in order that what I was not, I might become. Take care, O my dear George, not to pretend to such a purity as will make you unwilling to acknowledge yourself a sinner; for Christ dwells in sinners only. He came down from heaven, where he dwelt among the righteous, that he might dwell also among sinners. Meditate carefully on this love of Christ. If our labours and afflictions could give us peace of conscience, why should Christ have died? Thou wilt find peace only in Him, by despairing of thyself, and of thy works, and learning with what love He opens his arms to thee, takes upon Him all thy sins, and gives thee all His righteousness.'

"Thus the powerful doctrine which had already saved the world in the days of the apostles, and which was to save it a second time in the days of the reformers, was expounded by Luther with force and clearness. Stretching over numerous ages of ignorance and superstition, he here shook hands with St. Paul. The instructions of Luther bore fruit.

Several of his disciples already felt themselves urged publicly to profess the truths which the lessons of their master revealed to them. Among his hearers was Bernard, of Feldkirchen, professor of the physics of Aristotle in the university, and who, five years afterwards, was the first of the evangelical ecclesiastics who entered into the bond of matrimony. Luther, while he was presiding, desired him to maintain theses in which his principles were expounded. The doctrines professed by Luther thus acquired new publicity. The disputation took place in 1516, and was Luther's first attack on the reign of the sophists and the papacy. The disputation made a great noise, and has been considered as the commencement of the Reformation. The moment approached when this Reformation was to burst forth. *God was hastening to prepare the instrument which he meant to employ.*

“The elector having built a new church at Wittemberg, to which he gave the name of *All Saints*, sent Staupitz into the Netherlands to collect the relics with which he was desirous to enrich it. The vicar-general ordered Luther to take his place during his absence, and in particular to pay a visit to forty monasteries in Misnia and Thuringia. Luther returned to Wittemberg after an absence of six weeks. He was grieved at all he had seen, but the journey gave him a better acquaintance with the church and the world; gave him more confidence in his intercourse with men, and furnished him with numerous opportunities of founding schools, and urging this fundamental truth, that ‘the Holy Scripture alone shows us the way to heaven,’ and to exhort the brethren to live together holily, chastely, and peacefully. Doubtless much seed was sown in the different Augustin convents during the journey of the Reformer. The monastic orders, which had been long the stay of Rome, perhaps did more for the Reformation than against it. This is true especially of the order of the Augustins. Almost all pious men of a free and exalted spirit who were in cloisters, turned to the gospel, and a new and noble blood soon circulated in their orders, which were in a manner the arteries of German Catholicity. The world knew nothing of the new

ideas of the Augustin of Wittemberg, for some time after they had become the great subject of conversation in chapters and monasteries. In this way more than one cloister was a seminary of reformers. At the moment when that great blow was struck, pious and brave men came forth from their obscurity, and abandoned the retreat of the monastic life for the active career of ministers of the word of God. Even during the inspection of 1516, Luther by his words awoke many slumbering spirits, and hence this year has been called ‘the morning star of the gospel day.’”

The force of the words above quoted, commencing with “The world knew nothing of the new ideas of the Augustin of Wittemberg, for some time after they had become the great subject of conversation in chapters and monasteries,” must be specially observed, as displaying the precise state of the true church, previous to its reception of the gospel truths, required for the fulfilment of the prophetic terms, “And the voice which I heard from heaven spake unto me again” (that is to John representing the true church), “and said, Go and take the little book which is open in the hand of the angel, which standeth upon the sea and upon the earth.” This historic situation is the more observable from its being immediately followed by an interesting illustration, not only of those terms, but also of those succeeding, —“And I went unto the angel and said unto him, Give me the little book. And he said unto me, Take it and eat it up, and it shall make thy belly bitter, but it shall be in thy mouth sweet as honey;” for we find that the head of the state, the elector of Saxony, bestows marks of favour upon Luther, and thereby casts the mantle of his supreme authority, and the éclat of his sanction, over the doctrines and preaching of that Reformer. “The voice from heaven” is thus heard. We find also that the elector’s chaplain, as representative of the church, applies to Luther for instruction, and thus illustrates John going to the angel for the little book; the fidelity of the historic picture is completed by the reply of Luther to the chaplain being almost identical in terms, and absolutely so in spirit, with that of the angel to John in the prophecy.

D'Aubigné, without design, thus recounts his illustration :—“ ‘The prince,’ says Spalatin in a letter to Luther, ‘often speaks of you, and with much respect.’ Frederick sent the monk stuff to make a cassock of very fine cloth. ‘It would be too fine, said Luther, ‘were it not the gift of a prince. I am unworthy that any man should think of me, far less that a prince should, and so great a prince. The most useful persons to me are those who think the most ill of me. Return thanks to our prince for his favour; but know that I desire not to be praised by you or by any man—all praise of man being vain, and the praise which cometh from God alone being true.’ The excellent chaplain did not wish to confine himself to his court functions. He desired to render himself useful to the people; but, like many of all times, he wished to do it without giving offence. He not only wished not to irritate any one, but, on the contrary, to conciliate general favour. ‘Point out,’ says he to Luther, some work which I may translate into our mother tongue, a work which will please generally, and at the same time be useful.’ ‘Agreeable and useful,’ replies Luther, ‘the request is beyond me. The better things are, the less they please. What is more salutary than Jesus Christ? And yet to most he is a savour of death. You will tell me that you wish to be useful to those who love what is good. In that case just let the voice of Christ be heard. You will be agreeable and useful, depend upon it, but it will be to a very small number; for the sheep are rare in this region of wolves. *Taste and see how sweet the Lord is; but be it after you have tasted and seen how bitter everything is that is ours.*’ ”

It must be remembered that we are now illustrating the special dramatic features of the vision only. The wider and more important signification of the prophecy has been already noticed and historically illustrated.

D'Aubigné continues:—“It was in the course of the year 1517, that Luther entered into communication with Duke George of Saxony. The house of Saxony had two heads. The Elector Frederick, at the period at which we write, was the chief of the Ernestine branch, while his brother, Duke George, was chief of the Albertine branch.

The long struggle which Bohemia had maintained with Rome, from the days of John Huss, had had some influence on the prince of Saxony, and he had often shown a desire for a reformation. He in various ways annoyed the bishops, abbots, canons, and monks, in so much that his cousin, the elector, was more than once obliged to interpose in their behalf. It might have been supposed that Duke George would be a warm partisan of the Reformation. Devout Frederick, on the contrary, who had once put on the spurs of Gregory in the Holy Sepulchre, girt himself with the ponderous sword of the conqueror of Jerusalem, and taking an oath to combat for the church, might have been expected to prove one of the most eager champions of Rome. But when the gospel is in question, the anticipations of human wisdom are often at fault. The result was the opposite of what might have been supposed. The duke would have taken pleasure in humbling the church, and those connected with it, and lowering the bishops, whose princely train far surpassed his own; but to receive into his heart the evangelical doctrine, which must have humbled it, to acknowledge himself a guilty sinner, incapable of being saved, unless through grace, was quite a different matter. He would willingly have reformed others, but he had no desire to reform himself. He would, perhaps, have assisted in obliging the bishop of Mentz to be contented with a single bishopric, and have no more than fourteen horses in his stable, as he himself repeatedly expressed it; but when he saw another than himself appear as reformer—when he saw a mere monk undertake the work—and the Reformation gaining numerous adherents among the humbler classes—the haughty grandson of the Hussite king became the most violent adversary of the reform of which he had at first promised to be a partisan.

“In July 1517, Duke George asked Staupitz to send him a learned and eloquent preacher. Staupitz sent Luther, representing him as a man of great learning and irreproachable character. The prince invited him to preach at Dresden, in the chapel of the castle. On the day fixed, the duke and his court proceeded to the chapel to hear the

preacher of Wittenberg. Luther gladly seized the occasion to bear testimony to the truth before such an assembly. The word made a deep impression on the hearers.

“The dinner-bell having rung for the inmates of the castle, the ducal family and the persons attached to the court were soon seated at the table. The conversation naturally turned on the preacher of the morning. ‘How did you like the sermon?’ said the duke to Madam de la Sale, ‘could I again hear such another discourse’ replied she, ‘I could die in peace.’ ‘And I,’ replied George, angrily, ‘would give a good sum not to have heard it. Such discourses are good only to make people sin with confidence.’ The truth had fallen into the midst of a court ill-prepared to receive it. Everyone tore it at pleasure. But while the word of God was to many an occasion of stumbling, to the grand mistress it was a stone ‘elect and precious.’ Falling sick about a month after, she confidently embraced the grace of the Saviour, and died rejoicing. In regard to the duke, perhaps the testimony which he had heard given to the truth was not in vain. However much he opposed the Reformation during his life, it is known that in his last moments he declared that his only hope was in the merits of Jesus Christ.

“Luther at this time sent forth into the church ninety-nine propositions, in opposition to the Pelagian rationalism of scholastic theology. He attributes to God all the good that men can do. The thing to be done, is not to repair, or, so to speak, to patch up the will of man; an entirely new will must be given him. God alone could say this, for God alone could perform it. Luther, in his theses, attacked not only the pretended goodness of man’s will, but also the pretended light of his understanding in regard to divine things. In fact, scholasticism had exalted reason, as well as the will. This theology, in the hands of some of its teachers, was, at bottom, only a species of rationalism. The propositions indicate this, for they look as if directed against the rationalism of our own day. In the subsequent theses, which were the signal of the Reformation, Luther attacked the church and the popular superstitions, which

to the gospel had added indulgences, purgatory, and numberless abuses. In the former theses he attacked the school and the rationalism which had robbed the gospel of the doctrine of the sovereignty of God, His revelation and His grace. The Reformation attacked rationalism before it attacked superstition. To maintain his theses at Wittemberg had been an easy matter; there his influence was paramount. In offering battle in another university he gave them a greater publicity; and it was by publicity the Reformation was effected. He turned his eyes towards Erfurt, where the theologians had shown themselves exasperated against him. He accordingly sent his theses to the prior, and indicated his readiness to maintain them publicly either in the university or the monastery. It does not seem that his challenge was accepted. The monks of Erfurt contented themselves with intimating that his theses had incurred their high displeasure.

“The doctrines on which these theses turned were, perhaps, of greater importance than those which, two months after, set the church in a blaze, and yet, notwithstanding Luther’s numerous challenges at Erfurt and elsewhere, they passed unnoticed. At most, they were read in the circle of the school, and produced no sensation beyond it. So long as Luther was contented with reviving forgotten doctrines, all was silence” (they did not emanate from the Apocalyptic angel’s inspiration); “but when he attacked abuses which were universally felt, every one turned to listen. Nevertheless, all that Luther proposed in either case was to produce one of those theological discussions which were then so common in universities. To this circle his views were confined. He was humble, and his humility amounted even to distrust and anxiety. ‘Considering my ignorance,’ said he, ‘all I deserve is to be hid in a corner, without being known by any one under the sun.’ But a *mighty* hand drew him out of this corner in which he wished to remain unknown in the world. A circumstance, independent of Luther’s will, threw him into the field of battle, and the war commenced. This providential circumstance, we are now called upon to relate.

“At this period the people of Germany were all in motion. The Church had opened a vast market on the earth. From the crowd of customers, and the noise and pleasantries of the sellers, one would have thought it a fair, only a fair held by monks. The merchandise, which they were showing off, and selling a bargain, was, as they said, the salvation of souls.”

The indication by “the voice proceeding from the four horns of the golden altar” will not be forgotten during this portion of the history, nor that by the subsequent terms, “Neither repented they of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornication, *nor of their thefts.*” D’Aubigné continues:—

“The merchants travelled the country in a fine carriage, accompanied by three mounted attendants, journeying in grand style, and living at great expence. One would have said it was some high Mightiness with his suite and officers, and not a vulgar dealer or mendicant monk. When the cortège approached a town, a message was dispatched to the magistrate to say, ‘The grace of God and St. Peter is at your gates.’ Immediately the whole place was in motion. Clergy, priests, nuns, the council, schoolmasters and their scholars, the incorporations with their colours, men and women, old and young, went out to meet the merchant with lighted tapers in their hand, amid the sound of music and the ringing of bells, ‘insomuch’ says a historian, ‘that God himself could not have been received with greater honour.’ After the formalities were over the whole body proceeded to the church. The *Bull of Grace* by the pontiff was carried in front, on a velvet cushion or cloth of gold. Next came the chief of the indulgence merchants, carrying a large wooden cross, painted red. The whole procession moved forward, amid hymns, prayers, and the smoke of incense. The merchant monk and his attendants were received at the church by the pealing organ and thrilling music. The cross was placed in front of the altar, and over it the pope’s arms were suspended. All the time it remained there, the clergy of the place, the penitentiaries and sub-commissaries, came each day after vespers or before the salute, to do obeisance

to it with white wands in their hands. At these sales, one personage in particular drew the attention of the spectators. It was he who carried the great red cross, and played the principal character. He was clothed in the dress of a Dominican, and had an arrogant air. His voice was stentorian, and though in his sixty-third year, he seemed still in full vigour. He was called John Diezel or Tezel" (Mosheim and others call him Tetzal.) "It would have been difficult to find in all the cloisters of Germany a man better fitted for the traffic with which he was entrusted. To him all means were good that filled his coffers. Raising his voice and giving full vent to his vulgar eloquence, he offered his indulgences to every comer, and knew better than any dealer at a fair how to set off his merchandise.

"After the cross was erected, and the arms of the pope suspended over it, Tezel mounted the pulpit, and with a tone of assurance, began to extol the value of the indulgences in presence of the crowd who had been attracted to the church by the ceremony. The people listened and stared, on hearing the wondrous virtues of which he told them. Let us listen to one of his harangues after setting up the cross.

" 'Indulgences are the most precious and most sublime gift of God.

" 'This cross' (pointing to the red cross) 'has the very same efficacy as the actual cross of Jesus Christ.

" 'Come, and I will give you letters under seal, by which even the sins which you may have a desire to commit in future will all be forgiven.

" 'I would not exchange my privileges for that of St. Peter in heaven; for I have saved more souls by my indulgences than the apostle by his sermons.

" 'There is no sin too great for an indulgence to remit; and even should any one (the thing, no doubt, is impossible) have done violence to the Holy Virgin Mary, mother of God, let him pay, let him only pay well, and it will be forgiven him.

" 'Think, then, that for each mortal sin you must, after confession and contrition, do penance for seven years, either in this life, or in purgatory. Now how many mortal

sins are committed in one day, in one week? How many in a month, a year, a whole life? Ah! these sins are almost innumerable, and innumerable sufferings must be endured for them in purgatory. And now, by means of these letters of indulgence, you can at once, for life, in all cases except four, which are reserved to the apostolic see, and afterwards at the hour of death, obtain a full remission of all your pains and all your sins.

“ ‘ But more than this, indulgences not only save the living, they save the dead.

“ ‘ For this, repentance is not even necessary.

“ ‘ Priest! noble! merchant! wife! young girls! young men! hear your departed parents and your other friends, crying to you from the bottom of the abyss, We are enduring horrible torments! A little alms would deliver us; you can give it and yet will not.’ These words, uttered by the formidable voice of the charlatan monk, made his hearers shudder.

“ ‘ At the very instant,’ continued Tezel, ‘when the money chinks on the bottom of the strong box, the soul comes out of purgatory, and, set free, flies upward into heaven.

“ ‘ O imbecile and brutish people, who perceive not the grace which is so richly offered to you. Now heaven is everywhere open—Do you refuse at this hour to enter? When, then, will you enter? Now you can ransom so many souls! Hard-hearted and thoughtless man, with twelve-pence you can deliver your father out of purgatory, and you are ungrateful enough not to save him. I will be justified on the day of judgment, but you, you will be punished so much the more severely, for having neglected so great salvation. I declare to you, that though you had only a single coat, you would be bound to take it off and sell it, in order to obtain this grace. The Lord our God is no longer God. He has committed all power to the pope.’

“ Then trying to avail himself of other weapons still, he added, ‘ Know you why our most holy Lord is distributing so great a grace? His object is to raise up the ruined church of St. Peter and St. Paul, so that it may not have its equal in the universe. That church contains the bodies of

the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and of a multitude of martyrs. Owing to the actual state of the building, these holy bodies, are now, alas! beaten, flooded, soiled, dishonoured, and reduced to rottenness, by the rain and the hail. Ah! are those sacred ashes to remain longer in mud and disgrace?’

“Then the orator opened on the arguers and traitors who opposed his work, ‘I declare them excommunicated,’ said he.

“Afterwards, addressing docile souls, and making a profane use of Scripture, ‘Happy are the eyes which see what you see; for I tell you that many prophets and many kings have desired to see the things which you see, and have not seen them; and to hear the things which you hear, and have not heard them.’ And at last, showing them the strong box in which the money was received, he usually concluded his pathetic discourse with this triple appeal to the people, ‘Bring! Bring! Bring!’ ‘These words,’ says Luther, ‘he uttered with such horrible bellowing, that one might have thought it was a mad bull making a rush at people, and striking them with his horns.’ When his discourse was ended, he came down from the pulpit, ran towards the chest, and, in presence of the people, threw a piece of money into it, taking care to make it give a very loud tinkle. Such were the discourses which astonished Germany heard in the days when God was preparing Luther.

“At the termination of the discourse, the indulgence was understood ‘to have established its throne in the place in due form.’ Confessionals were set up, adorned with the pope’s arms. The sub-commissaries, and the confessors whom they selected, were considered to represent the apostolical penitentiaries of Rome at the jubilee, and on each of these confessionals were posted, in large characters, their names, surnames, and designations. Then a crowd pressed forward to the confessor, each coming with a piece of money in his hand. Men, women, and children, the poor, even those who lived on alms, all found means of procuring money. The penitentiaries, after having anew explained the greatness of the indulgence to each individual, asked

‘How much money can you afford to part with, in order to obtain so complete a forgiveness?’ ‘This question,’ says the instruction of the Archbishop of Mentz to the commissaries, ‘this question ought to be put at this moment, that the penitents may thereby be the better disposed to contribute.’ Four valuable graces were promised to those who aided in building the basilisk of St. Peter. ‘The first grace which we announce to you,’ said the commissaries, according to their Letter of Instruction, ‘is the complete pardon of all sins?’ After this came three other graces—first, the right of choosing a confessor, who, whenever the hour of death should seem to be at hand, would give absolution from all sins, and even from the greatest crimes reserved for the apostolic see; second—a participation in all the blessings, works, and merits of the Catholic church, in prayers, fastings, alms, and pilgrimages; and third—the redemption of the souls which are in purgatory. To obtain the first of these graces, it was necessary to have contrition of heart and confession of the lips, or, at least, the intention of confessing. But for the three others, they could be obtained without contrition or confession, merely by paying. Such was the doctrine taught by the Archbishop-Cardinal of Mentz, and the commissaries of the pope. ‘As to those,’ said they, ‘who would deliver souls from purgatory, and procure for them pardon of all their offences, let them throw money into the chest. It is not necessary for them to have contrition of the heart or confession of the lips. Let them only hasten with their money.’ Greater blessings could not be offered at a cheaper rate. When the confession was over, and it did not take long, the faithful hastened towards the seller. One only had charge of the sale, and kept his counter near the cross. He carefully eyed those who approached him, examining their air, bearing, and dress, and asked a sum proportioned to the appearance which each presented. Kings, queens, princes, archbishops, bishops, were, according to the regulation, to pay twenty-five ducats for an ordinary indulgence. Abbots, counts, and barons, paid ten. Others of the nobility, rectors, and all who had an income of five hundred florins paid six. Those who had

two hundred florins a-year paid one; others only a half. For particular sins Tezel had a particular tax. Polygamy paid six ducats; theft in a church, and perjury, nine ducats; murder, eight ducats; magic, two ducats. Samson, who carried on the same traffic in Switzerland as Tezel in Germany, had a somewhat different tax. For infanticide he charged four livres *tournois*, for parricide or fratricide, a ducat.

“It is worth while to know the contents of one of these diplomas of absolution which led to the reformation of the church. The following is a specimen:—‘May our Lord Jesus Christ have pity on thee, M. N., and absolve thee by the merit of his most holy passion. And I, in virtue of the apostolic power entrusted to me, absolve thee from all ecclesiastical censures, judgments, and penalties which thou mayest have deserved; moreover, from all the excesses, sins and crimes, which thou mayest have committed, how great and enormous soever they may have been, and for whatever cause, even should they have been reserved to our most holy Father the pope, and to the apostolic see. I efface all the marks of disability, and all the notes of infamy which thou mayest have incurred on this occasion. I remit the pains which thou shouldest have to endure in purgatory. I render thee anew a partaker in the sacraments of the church. I again incorporate thee into the communion of saints, and re-establish thee in the innocence and purity in which thou wast at the hour of thy baptism; so that, at the moment of thy death, the gate of entrance to the place of pains and torments will be shut to thee, and, on the contrary, the gate which leads to the heavenly paradise will be opened to thee. If thou art not to die soon, this grace will remain unimpaired till thy last hour arrive. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen. Friar John Tezel, commissary, has signed it with his own hand.’

“How dexterously presumptuous and lying words are here intermingled with holy Christian expressions! At length they arrived at the object and end of the whole affair, the summing up of the cash. For greater security, the

strong box had three keys—one in the hands of Tezel—the second in those of the treasurer, appointed by the firm of Fugger of Augsburg, who had been appointed agents in this vast enterprise, while the third was entrusted to the civil authority. When the moment arrived, the counters were opened in the presence of a notary-public, and the whole was duly counted and recorded. Must not Christ arise, and drive these profane sellers from the temple? The mission being closed, the dealers relaxed from their labours. It is true the instructions of the commissary-general forbade them to frequent taverns and suspicious places; but they cared little for this prohibition. Sin must have appeared a very trivial matter to people who had such an easy trade in it. ‘The mendicants,’ says a Roman Catholic historian, ‘led a bad life, expending in taverns, gaming houses, and places of infamy, what the people retrenched from their necessities.’ It is even averred, that in taverns they sometimes played at dice for the salvation of souls.

“In so far as we know, Luther heard of Tezel, for the first time, at Grimma in 1516, when he was on the eve of beginning his visit to the churches. Some of his extravagant sayings were quoted. Luther’s indignation was raised, and he exclaimed, ‘Please God, I’ll make a hole in his drum.’ Tezel took up his head-quarters at Jüterboch, four miles only from Wittemberg. The princes of Saxony had forbidden the merchant to enter their territory, but he came so near to it as he could. Jüterboch was on the territory of the Archbishop of Magdeburg. ‘This great thrasher of purses,’ says Luther, ‘set about threshing the country in grand style, so that the money began to leap, tumble, and tinkle in his chest.’ The people of Wittemberg went in crowds to the indulgence market of Jüterboch.

“At this period Luther had the highest respect for the church, but, at the same time, his heart was ready to declare in favour of all he believed to be truth, and against all he believed to be error. One day when Luther had taken his seat in the confessional at Wittemberg, several citizens of the town came before him, and one after another confessed the grossest immoralities. He rebukes, corrects, and instructs

them. They tell him they do not choose to abandon their sins. Quite amazed, the pious monk declares he cannot give them absolution. They exhibit their letters of indulgence. Luther replied, that he cared little for the paper, and added, Unless you repent, you will all perish. 'Beware,' added he, 'of lending an ear to the harangues of the vendors of indulgences.' Much alarmed, these inhabitants of Wittemberg hastened back to Tezel to tell him how his letters were disregarded by an Augustin monk. Tezel, on hearing this, became red with fury, crying, and stamping, and cursing in the pulpit. To strike a deeper terror into the people, he repeatedly kindled a fire in the market-place, declaring he had received orders from the pope to burn all heretics who should dare to oppose his holy indulgences.

"Such is the circumstance, which was not the cause, but the first occasion of the Reformation. A pastor seeing the sheep of his flock in a path which must lead them to destruction, makes an effort to deliver them. As yet he has no thought of reforming the church and the world. He has no desire to become Reformer. He has no plan for the reformation of the church any more than he had had one for himself. God intends reform, and for reform selects Luther. The same remedy which had proved so powerful in curing his own wretchedness, the hand of God will employ by him to cure the miseries of Christendom. He remains quiet in the sphere which is assigned to him, walking merely where his master calls him, and fulfilling his duties as professor, preacher and pastor, at Wittemberg. While seated in the church, his hearers come and open their hearts to him. Evil makes an assault upon him, and error seeks him out of her own accord. He is interfered with in the discharge of his duty, and his conscience, which is bound to the word of God, resists. Is it not God that calls him? To resist is a duty, and being a duty, is also a right. He has no alternative but to speak. In this way were events ordered by that God, who was pleased, says Mathesius, 'to restore Christendom by the means of the son of a forge master, and to purify the impure doctrine of the church, by making it pass through his furnaces.' Having given this detail, it

must be unnecessary to refute a false imputation invented by some of Luther's enemies, but not till after his death. Jealousy for his order, it has been said, grief at seeing a shameful and condemned traffic entrusted to the Dominicans in preference to the Augustins who had hitherto enjoyed it, led the doctor of Wittemberg to attack Tezel and his doctrines." (It will be remembered that Mezeray alleges this reason.) "The well-known fact that this office was first offered to the Augustins, who refused it, is sufficient to refute this fable, which has been repeated by writers who have copied each other; even Cardinal Pallavicini states that the Augustins never had discharged this office. Besides we have seen the travail of Luther's soul. His conduct needs no other explanation. It was impossible for him not to make open profession of the doctrine to which he owed his happiness. In our day it is time to abandon those puerile explanations which are unworthy of the great revolution of the sixteenth century. To lift the world, a more powerful lever was required. The Reformation existed not in Luther only, it was the offspring of his age;" or we may add, of "the mighty angel clothed with a cloud."

"Luther, impelled equally by obedience to the truth of God, and by charity towards men, mounted the pulpit. He forewarned his hearers; but as he himself says, he did it gently. His prince had obtained particular indulgences from the pope for the church of the castle of Wittemberg, and it was possible that some of the blows he was going to level at the indulgences in question might fall on those of the elector. No matter, he will run the risk. If he sought to please men, he would not be the servant of Christ. 'No man can prove by Scripture,' says the faithful minister of the Word to the people of Wittemberg, 'that the justice of God exacts a penalty or satisfaction from the sinner; the only duty which it imposes upon him is true repentance, sincere conversion, a resolution to bear the cross of Jesus Christ, and to be diligent in good works. It is a great error to think we can ourselves satisfy the justice of God for our sins. He always pardons them gratuitously by His inestimable grace.' At last glancing at his adversaries,

Luther concludes thus: 'If some cry that I am a heretic (for the truth which I preach is very hurtful to their strong box), their clamour gives me little concern. They have never felt the Bible, never read Christian doctrine, never comprehended their own teachers, and turn to rottenness, wrapt up in the tatters of their vain opinions. God grant them and us a sound mind. Amen.' After these words the doctor descended from the pulpit, leaving his hearers in astonishment at his bold language.

"This sermon was printed and made a deep impression on all who read it. Tezel answered it, and Luther replied, but these discussions did not take place till a later period (1518). The feast of All Saints drew near. The chronicles of that day relate a circumstance, which, though not important to the history of the period, may, however, serve to characterise it. It is a dream of the elector, which, in substance, is unquestionably authentic. It is mentioned by Seckendorf, who observes, that the fear of giving their adversaries ground to say that the doctrine of Luther was founded upon dreams, has perhaps prevented several historians from speaking of it. 'The Elector Frederick of Saxony,' says the chronicle of the time, 'was at his castle of Schweinitz, six leagues from Wittemberg.' " (It will be remembered that the elector has been already exhibited as a representative mouth-piece of the Apocalyptic voice from heaven.) "On the morning of the 31st October, 1517, being in company with his brother Duke John, and with his chancellor, the elector related a dream which he had the previous night, the meaning of which he much wished to know. "It is so deeply impressed upon my mind," said he, "that I will never forget it, were I to live a thousand years. For I dreamed it thrice, and each time with new circumstances. Amongst other things I thought how I was to observe the feast of All Saints. I prayed for the poor souls in purgatory, and supplicated God to guide me, my counsels, and my people, according to truth. I fell asleep, and then dreamed that Almighty God sent me a monk, who was the true son of the apostle Paul. All the saints accompanied him by order of God in order to bear testimony before me, and to declare

that he did not come to contrive any plot, but that all that he did was according to the will of God. They asked me to have the goodness graciously to permit him to write something on the door of the church of the castle of Wittemberg. This I granted, through my chancellor. Thereupon the monk went to the church, and began to write in such large characters, that I could read the writing at Schweinitz. The pen which he used was so large that its end reached so far as Rome, where it pierced the ears of a lion that was crouching there, and caused the triple crown upon the head of the pope to shake. All the cardinals and princes running hastily up, tried to prevent it from falling. You and I, brother, wished also to assist, and I stretched out my arm, but at this moment I awoke. I recollected myself a little; it was only a dream. I once more closed my eyes. The dream returned. The lion, still annoyed by the pen, began to roar with all his might, so much so that the whole city of Rome and all the states of the holy empire, ran to see what the matter was. The pope requested them to oppose this monk, and applied particularly to me on account of his being in my country. I again awoke, repeated the Lord's prayer, entreated God to preserve his Holiness, and once more fell asleep. Then I dreamed that all the princes of the empire, and we among them, hastened to Rome, and strove one after another to break the pen; but the more we tried, the stiffer it became, sounding as if it had been made of iron. We at length desisted. I then asked the monk (for I was sometimes at Rome and sometimes at Wittemberg) where he got this pen, and why it was so strong. 'The pen,' replied he, 'belonged to an old goose of Bohemia, a hundred years old. I got it from one of my old schoolmasters. As to its strength, it is owing to the impossibility of depriving it of its pith or marrow, and I am quite astonished at it myself.' Suddenly I heard a loud noise; a large number of other pens had sprung out of the long pen of the monk. I awoke a third time. It was daylight. I have thought of an interpretation, but I keep it to myself. Time perhaps will show if I have been a good diviner." Thus, according to the manuscript of Weimar,

the morning of the 31st of October was spent at Schweinitz. Let us see how the evening was spent at Wittemberg. We again return to the province of history.

“The words of Luther had produced little effect. Tezel continued his traffic and his impious harangues. Luther’s resolution is taken. He must take the part of the pope against audacious men, who dare to associate his venerable name with their disgraceful traffic. Far from thinking of a revolution which is to destroy the primacy of Rome, Luther expects to have the pope and Catholicism for his allies against impudent monks.”

Luther, it may be observed, is here exhibited as inclined to write the things which the seven thunders uttered, that is, to conform to the papal authority and doctrine; the injunction to reject them had not yet been heard. The historian continues:—

“The feast of All Saints was an important day for Wittemberg. On this great occasion, pilgrims came in crowds. On the 31st October, 1517, Luther walks boldly towards the church to which the superstitious crowds of pilgrims were repairing, and puts up on the door of this church ninety-five theses or propositions against the doctrine of indulgences. Neither the elector nor Staupitz, nor Spalatin, nor any, even the most intimate of his friends, had been previously informed of this step. In these theses, Luther declares, in a sort of preamble, that he had written them with the express desire of setting the truth in the true light of day. He declares himself ready to defend them on the morrow at the university against all and sundry. The attention which they excite is great; they are read and repeated. In a short time the pilgrims, the university, the whole town is ringing with them. Here, then, was the commencement of the work. The germ of the reformation was contained in these theses of Luther. The abuses of indulgence were attacked in them, but behind those attacks, there was, moreover, a principle, which, though it attracted the attention of the multitude far less, was destined one day to overthrow the edifice of the papacy. The evangelical doctrine of a free and gratuitous remission of sins, was here

publicly professed for the first time in that age. Henceforth the work must grow. All errors behoved to give way before this truth. By it, light had first entered Luther's mind; and by it light is to be diffused in the church. What previous reformers wanted was a clear knowledge of this truth, and hence the unfruitfulness of their labours." (The mighty angel had not appeared.) "Luther himself was *afterwards* aware that, in proclaiming justification by faith, he had laid the axe to the root of the tree. 'This is the doctrine,' said he, 'which we attack in the followers of the papacy. Huss and Wickliffe only attacked their lives, but in attacking their doctrines we take the goose by the neck.' 'All depends,' he afterwards said, 'on the word which the pope took from us and falsified. I have vanquished the pope, because my doctrine is according to God, and his is according to the devil.'"

D'Aubigné here adds, "We too in our day have forgotten the capital doctrine of justification by faith, though in a sense, the reverse of that of our fathers. 'In the time of Luther,' says one of our contemporaries, 'the remission of sins at least cost money, but in our day every one supplies himself gratis.' These two extremes are very much alike. Perhaps there is even more forgetfulness of God in our extreme, than in that of the sixteenth century. The principle of justification by the grace of God, which brought the church out of so much darkness at the time of the Reformation, is also the only principle which can renew our generation, put an end to its doubts and waverings, destroy the canker of egotism, establish the reign of morality and justice, and, in one word, re-unite the world to God, from whom it has been separated." He then continues:—

"These theses, notwithstanding their great boldness, still bespeak the monk, who refuses to allow a single doubt as to the authority of the see of Rome. But in attacking the doctrine of indulgences, Luther had, without perceiving it, assailed several errors, the exposure of which could not be agreeable to the pope, seeing that they tended, sooner or later, to bring his supremacy in question. Luther, at this time, did not see so far, but he felt all the boldness of the

step which he had taken. He accordingly presented his theses only as doubtful propositions on which he was anxious for the views of the learned; and, conformably to the established custom, annexed to them a solemn protestation, declaring that he wished not to say or affirm anything not founded on Holy Scripture, the Fathers of the Church, and the rights and decretals of the see of Rome. An invisible hand, however, mightier than his own, held the leading reins, and pushed him into a path which he knew not, and from the difficulties of which he would, perhaps, have recoiled if he had known them, and been advancing alone and of himself." (The spirit of "the mighty angel" is here recognised by the historian.) "'I engaged in this dispute,' says Luther, 'without premeditated purpose, without knowing it, or wishing it; and was taken quite unprepared. For the truth of this I appeal to the Searcher of hearts.' Luther had become acquainted with the source of these abuses. He had received a little book, ornamented with the arms of Albert, Archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg, and containing the regulations to be observed in the sale of indulgences. It was this young prelate, therefore, this accomplished prince, who had prescribed, or at least sanctioned, all this quackery. In him Luther only sees a superior to whom he owes fear and reverence; and wishing not to beat the air, but to address those entrusted with the government of the church, he sends him a letter, distinguished by its frankness and humility. Luther wrote this letter to Albert the same day on which he put up his theses. He at the same time sent his theses to him. Thus Luther's whole desire was, that the watchmen of the church should awake, and exert themselves in putting an end to the evils which were laying it waste. His is a cry proceeding from the conscience of a Christian and a priest, who gives honour to all, but in the first place fears God. However, all prayers and supplications were useless. Young Albert made no reply to Luther's solemn appeal. The Bishop of Brandebourg, Luther's ordinary, a learned and pious man, to whom also he sent his theses, replied that he was attacking the power of the church; that he would involve himself in great trouble and vexation,

that the thing was beyond his strength, and that his earnest advice to him was to keep quiet. ‘Both thought,’ says Luther afterwards, ‘that the pope would be too many for a miserable mendicant like me.’ If the bishops failed him, God did not fail him. The Head of the Church, who sits in heaven, and to whom has been given all power upon the earth, had himself prepared the ground, and deposited the grain in the hands of his servant. He gave wings to the seed of truth, and sent it in an instant over the whole length and breadth of his church. Nobody appeared the next day to attack the propositions of Luther. But these theses were destined to be heard in other places than under the roof of an academical hall. Scarcely had they been nailed to the door of the castle church at Wittenberg, than the feeble strokes of the hammer were followed throughout Germany by a blow which reached even to the foundations of proud Rome, threatened sudden ruin to the walls, the gates, and the pillars of the papacy, stunning and terrifying its champions, and at the same time awakening thousands from the sleep of error.” “And he cried with a loud voice, as when a lion roareth,” at once presents itself as a prophetic announcement, with which this picture by the historian exactly corresponds.

D'Aubigné goes on to say:—“These theses spread with the rapidity of lightning. A month had not elapsed before they were at Rome. ‘In a fortnight,’ says a contemporary historian, ‘they were in every part of Germany, and in four weeks had traversed almost the whole of Christendom; as if the angels themselves had been the messengers, and carried them before the eyes of all men. Nobody can believe what a noise they made.’ They were afterwards translated into Dutch and Spanish, and a traveller even sold them at Jerusalem. ‘Everyone,’ says Luther, ‘was complaining of the indulgences; and as all the bishops and doctors had kept silence, and nobody had ventured to bell the cat, poor Luther became a famous doctor; because, as they expressed it, one had at length come who dared to do it. But I liked not this glory; the music seemed to me too lofty for the words.’ Some of the pilgrims, who had flocked from different

countries to Wittemberg for the feast of all saints, carried home with them the famous theses of the Augustin monk, and thus helped to circulate them. They occupied the attention of all convents and all universities. In these theses, piety saw a blow given to all kinds of superstition ; the new theology hailed in them the defeat of the scholastic dogmas ; princes and magistrates regarded them as a barrier raised against the encroachment of ecclesiastical power ; while the nations were delighted at seeing the decided negative which this monk had given to the avarice of the Roman chancery. Erasmus, a man very worthy of credit, and one of the principal rivals of the Reformer, says to Duke George of Saxony, ‘When Luther attacked this fable, the whole world concurred in applauding him.’ ‘I observe,’ said he on another occasion to Cardinal Campeggi, ‘that those of the purest morals, and an evangelical piety, are the least opposed to Luther. His life is lauded even by those who cannot bear his faith. The world was weary of a doctrine containing so many childish fables, and was thirsting for that living water, pure and hidden, which issues from the springs of the evangelists and the apostles. The genius of Luther was fitted to accomplish these things, and his zeal must have animated him to the noble enterprise.’ We must follow these propositions wherever they penetrated ; to the studies of the learned, the cells of monks, and the palaces of princes, in order to form some idea of the various but wonderful effects which they produced in Germany. ‘Thanks be to God,’ exclaimed Reuchlin, the old champion of letters, after he had read Luther’s theses, ‘now they have found a man who will give them so much to do, that they will be obliged to let me end my old age in peace.’ Dr. Flek, prior of the convent of Steinlausitz, when he had perused a few of the theses, exclaimed, ‘Well, well, he whom we have been so long looking for is come at last ; and this you monks will see.’ Then reading in the future, says Mathesius, and playing upon the word Wittemberg, he said, ‘Everybody will come to seek wisdom at this mountain, and will find it.’ He wrote to the doctor to persevere courageously in his glorious combat.

“The ancient and celebrated see of Würzburg was then held by Lowrence de Bibra. The theses having reached his palace also, he read them with great delight, and publicly declared his approbation of Luther. At a later period, he wrote to the Elector of Saxony, ‘Don’t part with pious Dr. Martin Luther; for he has been wronged.’ The Elector, delighted at this testimony, wrote the Reformer with his own hand to acquaint him with it. The Emperor Maximilian, predecessor of Charles V., also read and admired the theses. He instructed his envoy to say to the Elector of Saxony, ‘Take good care of the monk Luther, for the time may come when we shall have need of him.’ At Rome even, and in the Vatican, the theses were not so ill received as might have been supposed. Leo X. judged of them as a friend of letters, rather than a pope. The amusement which they gave him made him overlook the severe truths which they contained; and when Sylvester Prierio, the master of the sacred palace, who had the office of examining new works, urged him to treat Luther as a heretic, he replied, ‘This Friar Martin Luther, is a great genius; all that is said against him is mere monkish jealousy.’ There were few on whom the theses of Luther produced a deeper impression than on the scholar of Annaberg, whom Tezel had pitilessly repulsed from obtaining absolution, having no money with which to pay for it. Myconius had entered a convent, and the very first evening dreamed he saw an immense field quite covered with ripe corn. ‘Cut,’ said the voice of his guide to him, and when he excused himself for want of skill, his guide showing him a reaper, who was working with inconceivable rapidity, ‘Follow and do like him,’ said the guide. Myconius, eager for holiness as Luther had been, devoted himself when in the convent to vigils, fasts, macerations, and all the works invented by men; but at length he despaired of ever attaining the objects of his efforts. External labour did not appease his troubled conscience. God had spoken to him, and he could not fall back into his former slumber. The theses of Luther were published, and traversing Christendom, arrived also at the convent where

the scholar of Annaberg was residing. He hid himself in a corner of the cloister, with John Voit, another monk. His eyes were opened, he felt a voice within him responding to that which was then sounding throughout Germany, and great consolation filled his heart. 'I see plainly,' said he, 'that Martin Luther is the reaper whom I saw in my dream, and who taught me to gather the ears of corn.' He immediately began to profess the doctrine which Luther had proclaimed. The monks, alarmed when they heard him, argued with him, and declaimed against Luther and against his convent. 'That convent,' replied Myconius, 'is like our Lord's sepulchre, they wish to prevent Christ from rising again, but will not succeed.' At last his superiors, seeing they could not convince him, interdicted him for a year and a half from all intercourse with the world, not permitting him even to write or to receive letters, and threatening him with perpetual imprisonment. However, for him also the hour of deliverance arrived. Being afterwards appointed pastor of Zwickau, he was the first who declared against the papacy in the churches of Thuringia. 'Then,' said he, 'I could work with my venerable father Luther at the gospel harvest.' Jonas describes him as a man as able as he was willing.

"Some of the Reformer's contemporaries, however, who foresaw the consequences to which they might lead, and the numerous obstacles which they were destined to encounter, loudly expressed their fears, or at most rejoiced with trembling. 'I am much afraid,' wrote the excellent canon of Augsburg, to his friend Pirckeimer, 'that the worthy man must yield at last to the avarice and power of the partisans of indulgences. His representations have had so little effect, that the bishop of Augsburg, our primate and metropolitan, has just ordered new indulgences, in the name of the pope, for St. Peter's at Rome. Let him hasten to seek the aid of princes. Let him beware of tempting God; for it were to show an absolute want of sense to overlook the imminent danger to which he is exposed.' He was greatly delighted, when it was rumoured that Henry VIII. had invited him to England. 'There,' thought he, 'he will

be able to teach the truth in peace.' Several thus imagined that the doctrine of the gospel was to be supported by the power of princes, not knowing that it advances without this power, and is often trammelled and weakened by the possession of it. The celebrated historian, Albert Kranz, was at Hamburg on his death-bed, when Luther's theses were read to him. 'You are right, friar Martin,' he exclaimed, 'but you will not succeed. Poor monk! Go into your cell and cry, Lord have mercy on me!' An old priest of Hexter in Westphalia, having read these theses, said, in Low German, shaking his head, 'Dear friar Martin! if you succeed in overthrowing this purgatory, and all these paper merchants, assuredly you are a mighty Seignior!' Not only did many of Luther's friends entertain fears as to the step which he had taken, but several even testified their disapprobation. The Bishop of Brandenburg, distressed at seeing his diocese the scene of so important a contest, was anxious to suppress it. He says, 'I don't find any thing in the theses contradictory of Catholic truth. I, myself, condemn these indiscreet proclamations; but for the love of peace and deference to your bishop, cease writing on the subject.' Even the Elector," (the human oracle of the voice from heaven, who requested the church to receive the truths of the Bible from Luther's hands in accordance with the Apocalyptic terms "Go, and take the little book which is open in the hand of the angel") "Even the Elector was grieved at the commencement of a contest which was no doubt legitimate, but the end of which it was impossible to foresee. No prince was more desirous than Frederick for the maintenance of public peace. Now, what an immense fire might this small spark not kindle? What discord, what rending of nations, might this quarrel of monks not produce? The Elector repeatedly made Luther aware how much he was annoyed. Even in his own order, and his own convent of Wittemberg, Luther met with disapprobation. The prior and sub-prior, terrified at the clamour of Tezel and his companions, repaired in fear and trembling to the cell of friar Martin, and said, 'Do not, we entreat you, bring shame on our order. The other orders, and especially

the Dominicans, are everjoyed to think that they are not to be alone in disgrace.' Luther was moved, but recovering himself, he replied, 'Dear fathers, if the thing is not done in the name of God it will fail, but, if it is, let it proceed.' The prior and sub-prior said no more. 'The thing proceeds even now,' adds Luther, after relating this anecdote, 'and please God, always will proceed better and better, even to the end. Amen.'

"Luther had many other attacks to sustain. The struggle which took place in his soul cannot be better described than in his own words. 'I began this affair,' says he, 'with great fear and trembling. Who was I, a poor, miserable, despicable friar, liker a corpse than a living man; who was I, to oppose the majesty of the pope, before whom not only the kings of the earth and the whole world, but also, if I may so speak, heaven and hell trembled, compelled to yield obedience to his nod? Nobody can imagine what my heart suffered during these two first years. No idea of it can be formed by those proud spirits, who afterwards attacked the pope with great boldness, although with all their ability, they could not have done him the least harm, *had not Jesus Christ, by me, his feeble and unworthy instrument, given him a wound which never will be cured.* But while they were contented to look on, and leave me alone in danger, I was not so joyful, so tranquil, or so sure about the business; for at that time I did not know many things, which, thank God, I know now.'" The true church had not received the instruction foreshown in the prophecy, "Write not," etc. Luther continues, 'It is true, several pious Christians were much pleased with my propositions, and set a great value upon them, but I could not own and regard them as the organs of the Holy Spirit. I looked only to the pope, the cardinals, bishops, theologians, jurisconsults, monks and priests. That was the direction from which I expected the Spirit to come. Still, having, by means of Scripture, come off victorious over all contrary arguments, I have at length, by the grace of Christ, though after much pain, travail and anguish, surmounted the only argument which arrested me, viz., that it is necessary to listen to the church; for

from the bottom of my heart I honoured the church of the pope as the true church, and did so with much more sincerity and veneration, than those shameless and infamous corrupters who are now so very forward in opposing me. Had I despised the pope as much as he is despised in the hearts of those who praise him so loudly with their lips, I would have dreaded that the earth would instantly open and swallow me up, as it did Corah and his company.'

"How honourable these misgivings are to Luther. How much more worthy of respect do these painful assaults which he had to sustain, both within and without, prove him to be, than mere intrepidity without any such struggle, could have done! The travail of his soul clearly displays the truth and divinity of his work;" and his experience to have accorded with the Apocalyptic terms, "It shall be in thy belly bitter." "We see that their origin and principle were in heaven. After all the facts that have been stated, who will presume to say that the Reformation was an affair of politics? Assuredly, it was not the effect of human policy, but of the power of God. Had Luther been urged by human passions only, he would have yielded to his fears; his miscalculations and scruples would have smothered the fire which had been kindled in his soul, and he would only have thrown a transient gleam upon the church, in the same way as the many zealous and pious men, whose names have come down to us. But now God's time had arrived; the work was not to be arrested; the emancipation of the church was to be accomplished. Luther was destined at least to prepare that complete emancipation and those extensive developments which are promised to the kingdom of Christ. Accordingly, he experienced the truth of the magnificent promise, 'The strong men shall faint and be weary, and the young men utterly fall; but they who wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings like eagles.' This divine power, which filled Luther's heart, and which had engaged him in the combat, soon gave him back all his former resolution.

"The reproaches, timidity, or silence of Luther's friends had discouraged him; the attacks of his enemies had

the very opposite effect. The gauntlet which had been thrown down was taken up by Tezel with a feeble hand. Luther's sermon, which had been to the people, what his theses were to the learned, was the subject of his first reply. He refuted it point by point in his own way, and then announced that he was preparing to combat his adversary at greater length in theses which he would maintain at the university of Frankfort on the Oder. 'Then,' said he, adverting to the conclusion of Luther's sermon, 'then everyone will be able to judge who is heresiarch, heretic, schismatic, erroneous, rash, and calumnious. Then will it be manifest to all—who has a dull brain, who has never felt the Bible, read Christian doctrines, understood his own teachers. In maintaining the propositions which I advance, I am ready to suffer all things, prison, cudgel, water, and fire.' Luther replied without naming Tezel; Tezel had not named him. Tezel tried to confound the repentance which God demands with the penance which the church imposes, in order to give a higher value to his indulgences. Luther made it his business to clear up this point." Having done so at some length, he thus concludes—" 'For the rest,' challenging his opponents to the combat, 'although it is not usual to burn heretics for such points, here, at Wittemberg, am I, Doctor Martin Luther! Is there any inquisitor who pretends to chew fire, and make rocks leap into the air? I give him to know that he has a safe-conduct to come here, an open door, and bed and board certain, all by the gracious care of our admirable Duke Frederick, who will never protect heresy.'

"We see that Luther was not deficient in courage. He trusted to the word of God. God in faithfulness gave him still further aid. The bursts of joy with which the multitude had hailed Luther's theses was soon succeeded by a gloomy silence. The greater part of the reformer's friends were frightened. Several of them had fled. But when the first terror was over, the minds of men took an opposite direction. The monk of Wittemberg soon saw himself again surrounded with a great number of friends and admirers. Spalatin had remained faithful to him through-

out the crisis. Luther had not sent his propositions, either to the prince or any of his courtiers. The chaplain seems to have expressed some surprise at this, and Luther answers, 'I did not wish my theses to reach our illustrious prince or any of his court, before those who think themselves specially addressed, had received them, lest it should be thought that I had published them by order of the prince, or to gain his favour, or from opposition to the bishop of Mentz. I hear there are already several who dream such things. But now I can swear in all safety that my theses were published without the knowledge of Duke Frederick.' "

We now find the chaplain again applying to Luther for instruction, further illustrating, "Go and take the little book." "Spalatin asked, 'What is the best method of studying the Holy Scriptures?' 'Till now, my dear Spalatin,' replied Luther, 'you have asked questions which I could answer. But to direct you in the study of the scriptures is more than I am able to do. However, if you would absolutely know my method, I will not hide it from you. It is most certain that we cannot succeed in comprehending the Scripture either by study or mere intellect. Your first duty, then, is to begin with prayer. There is no other interpreter of the word of God than the Author of that Word, according as it is said—They will all be taught of God. Hope nothing from your works, nothing from your intellect. Trust only in God, and in the influence of His Spirit. Believe one who is speaking from experience.' We here see how Luther attained possession of the truth of which he was a preacher." In imparting it to the chaplain of the elector, he again performs the part portrayed in the sacred drama, "And he said unto me, 'Take it and eat it up.'" D'Aubigné continues, "It was not, as some pretend, by confiding in a presumptuous reason, nor, as others maintain, by abandoning himself to hateful passions. The source from which he drew it was the purest, holiest, and most sublime—God himself consulted in humility, confidence, and prayer. Few in our day imitate him, and hence few comprehend him. To a serious mind these words of Luther are in themselves a justification of the Reformation. Luther likewise found

comfort in the friendship of many respectable laymen. The minds of men had thus gradually recovered from their first alarm. Luther himself was disposed to declare that his words did not mean so much as had been imagined. New circumstances might divert public attention, and the blow struck at Roman doctrine might, as had been the case with so many others, spend itself in the air. The partisans of Rome prevented this result. They fanned the flame instead of smothering it. Tezel and the Dominicans replied haughtily to the attack which had been made upon them. Burning with eagerness to crush the audacious monk who had disturbed their traffic, and to gain the favour of the Roman pontiff, they uttered cries of rage." The effect of the angel's loud cry here begins to manifest itself in producing angry answers. "They maintained that to attack the indulgence ordered by the pope was to attack the pope himself; and they called in the aid of all the monks and theologians of the school. Tezel repaired to Frankfort on the Oder. He applied to Wimpina, one of the professors of the university, for a reply to Luther's theses, and Wimpina wrote two series of antitheses, the former to defend the doctrine of indulgences, and the latter to defend the authority of the pope. This disputation, which had been long prepared and loudly advertised, and of which Tezel entertained the highest hopes, took place on the 20th January, 1518. Tezel having beaten up for recruits, monks had been sent from the neighbouring cloisters, and assembled to the number of more than three hundred. Tezel read his theses, one of which declared 'that whosoever says that the soul does not fly away from purgatory as soon as the money tinkles on the bottom of the strong box, is in error.' But above all, he maintained propositions, according to which, the pope appeared to be truly, as the apostle expresses it, seated as God in the temple of God. It was convenient for this shameless merchant to take refuge under the pope's mantle, with all his disorders and scandals. In presence of the numerous assembly in which he stood, he declared himself ready to maintain the theses he then read. Luther was not the only person attacked. In his forty-eighth thesis

he had probably the elector in view. To threaten every contradictor with severe punishment was an inquisitor's argument, and scarcely admitted of a reply. The three hundred monks stared in admiration of his discourse. The whole affair seemed destined to be only a sham fight; but among the crowd of students present was a young man of about twenty, named John Knipstrow. He had read the theses of Luther, and found them conformable to the doctrines of Scripture. Indignant at seeing the truth trampled under foot, while no one appeared to defend it, this young man rose up, to the great astonishment of the whole assembly, and attacked the presumptuous Tezel. The poor Dominican who had not counted on such opposition, was quite disconcerted. After some efforts he quitted the field of battle, and gave place to Wimpina; but Knipstrow pressed him also so closely, that Wimpina, who presided, declared the discussion closed, and proceeded forthwith to confer the degree of doctor on Tezel, in recompense of this glorious combat. Knipstrow was sent to the convent of Pyritz in Pomerania, with orders that he should be strictly watched. But this dawning light was only removed from the banks of the Oder that it might afterwards shed a bright effulgence in Pomerania.

"Tezel, wishing to repair the check he had received, had recourse to the *ultima ratio* of Rome and the inquisitors—I mean, the faggot. On a public walk in one of the suburbs of Frankfort, he caused a pulpit and a scaffold to be erected, and repaired thither in solemn procession with his insignia of inquisitor. Mounting the pulpit, he let loose all his fury. *He darted his thunder*, and with his Stentorian voice exclaimed, that the heretic Luther ought to be burned alive. Then placing the doctor's theses and sermon on the scaffold, he burned them. He was better acquainted with this kind of work than with the defence of theses. Here he met with no opposition, and his victory was complete." The indications of the approaching storm in which the seven thunders utter their voices, it will be seen, are now increasing. "The second theses of Tezel," D'Aubigné says, "form an important epoch in the Reformation. They changed the locality of

the dispute, transporting it from the indulgence market to the halls of the Vatican, and diverting it from Tezel to the pope. Instead of the creature whom Luther had taken in his fist, they substituted the sacred person of the Head of the Church. Luther was stunned at this. It is probable that he himself would have taken the step at a later period, but his enemies spared him the trouble. Thenceforward the question related not merely to a disreputable traffic, but to Rome; and the blow by which a bold hand had tried to demolish the shop of Tezel, shook the very foundations of the pontifical throne. Tezel's theses were only a signal to the Roman troops. The name of Luther resounded from the pulpits of the Dominicans as a madman, a deceiver, and a demoniac. His doctrine was denounced as the most dreadful heresy. 'Wait only for a fortnight, or four weeks at farthest,' said they, 'and this noted heretic will be burned.'" The rumbling of distant thunder is still heard. "Had it depended only on the Dominicans, the fate of the Saxon doctor had soon been that of Huss and Jerome, but his life was destined to accomplish what the ashes of Huss had begun. Each does the work of God, one by his death, another by his life. Several now began to cry that the whole university of Wittemberg was tainted with heresy, and pronounced it infamous. 'Let us pursue the villain, and all his partisans,' they continued. In several places these exclamations had the effect of stirring up the passions of the people. Those who shared the opinions of the Reformer had the public attention directed towards them; and in every place where the monks were strongest, the friends of the gospel felt the effects of their hatred. Thus, in regard to the Reformation, the Saviour's prediction began to be accomplished, 'They will revile you and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.' This is a recompense which the world at no time fails to bestow on the decided friends of the gospel." They experienced the force of the prediction, "it shall be in thy belly bitter." D'Aubigné continues:—

"When Luther was made acquainted with Tezel's theses, and with the general attack of which they were the signal,

his courage rose. He felt that it was necessary to withstand such adversaries to the face; and his intrepid zeal had no difficulty in resolving what to do. At the same time, their feebleness made him aware of his own strength, and told him what he was. 'It gives me more difficulty,' he writes to Spalatin, 'to refrain from despising my adversaries, and so sinning against Jesus Christ, than it would give me to vanquish them. They are so ignorant in things human and divine, that one is ashamed of having to fight with them; and yet it is their very ignorance which gives them their inconceivable audacity and face of brass.' But the most powerful support to Luther, in the midst of this opposition, was the deep conviction that his cause was the cause of truth. 'Let it not surprise you,' he writes to Spalatin in the beginning of the year 1518, 'that I am so much insulted. I am delighted with these insults. Did they not curse me, I could not believe so firmly that the cause which I have undertaken is God's own cause. Christ has been set up for a sign to be spoken against. I know, that from the beginning of the world the nature of the word of God has been such, that everyone who has preached it to the world, has been obliged, like the apostles, to leave all and lay his account with death. Were it otherwise, it would not be the word of Jesus Christ.' This peace, in the midst of agitation, is a thing unknown to the world's heroes. Luther still kept silence in regard to Tezel's propositions concerning the pope. He waited, but not through weakness, for when he struck he gave a heavier blow. Tezel sent his theses into Saxony to serve as an antidote to those of Luther. The students of the university of Wittenberg purchased copies to the number of eight hundred. Then, unknown to the Elector, the senate, the rector, Luther, and all the other professors, they put up the following notice on the board of the university:—'Whosoever is desirous to be present at the burning and funeral of Tezel's theses, let him repair at two o'clock to the market place.' Crowds assembled at the hour, and committed the propositions of the Dominican to the flames, amid loud acclamations. The news of this academical execution spread throughout Germany, and made a great

noise. Luther was extremely vexed at it. ‘What will come out of it,’ says he, ‘I know not, unless it be that my danger is much increased.’

“The heads of the church began now to look more narrowly into the matter, and to declare decidedly against Luther. ‘Verily I know not in whom Luther confides,’ said the Bishop of Brandenburg, ‘when he dares thus to attack the power of bishops.’ He came in person to Wittemberg; but he found Luther animated with inward joy, and determined to give battle. The bishop felt that the Augustin monk was obeying an authority superior to his, and returned to Brandenburg in a rage. He exclaimed ‘I will not lay down my head in peace till I have thrown Martin into the fire, as I do this brand,’ throwing one into the grate, before which he was seated.

“A more serious resistance than that of Tezel was already opposed to Luther—Rome had answered. A reply had issued from the walls of the sacred palace.” The seven thunders uttered their voices. “The first voice was not from Leo X. Sylvester de Prierio, master of the sacred palace, censor, and prior-general of the Dominicans, employed to determine what Christendom must say, or not say, and know or not know, hastened to reply to Luther’s theses, and published a tract, which he dedicated to Leo X. He spoke contemptuously of the German monk, and declared, with a self-sufficiency altogether Roman ‘that he was anxious to know whether this Martin had a nose of iron, or a head of brass, which could not be broken.’ Then in the form of a dialogue, he attacked the theses of Luther, employing alternately ridicule, insult, and threatening. The combat between the Augustin of Wittemberg and the Dominican of Rome took place on the very question which lies at the foundation of the Reformation:—‘What is the sole infallible authority to Christians?’ The opinion of Prierio is that the pope is the depositary of the Spirit of interpretation; and no man is entitled to understand Scripture in a sense differing from that of the Roman pontiff. ‘The Roman church,’ says he, ‘having in the pope the summit of spiritual and temporal power, may, by the

secular arm, constrain those who after receiving the faith, stray from it. She is not bound to employ arguments for the purpose of combating and subduing the rebellious.' These words traced by the pen of one of the dignitaries of the Roman court had a very significant meaning. They failed, however, to terrify Luther. The *Bible* had produced the Reformer, and began the Reformation. Luther, in believing, had no need of the testimony of the church. His faith was derived from the Bible itself. The *holy cloud*, withdrawing from proud basilisks and gorgeous cathedrals, *had descended on the obscure dwellings of the humble*; the church which sold salvation in order to fill a treasury, for luxury and debauchery to empty, had lost all respect. Men turned with joy towards the Divine word, as towards the only refuge which remained to them in the general confusion. The age, therefore, was prepared. The bold movement by which Luther with a mighty hand transferred men's highest hopes from the walls of the Vatican to the rock of the word of God, was hailed with enthusiasm. This was the work Luther had in view in his reply to Prierio. 'The word of God, the whole word of God, and nothing but the word of God,' Luther lays down as his fundamental principle. 'If you understand these principles,' continued he, 'you will also understand that your whole dialogue is completely overturned, for you have done nothing else than adduce the words and opinions of St. Thomas.' He concludes with a few words in reply to the menaces of Prierio. 'In fine,' he says, 'you say that the pope is at once pontiff and emperor, and that he has power to constrain by the secular arm. Are you thirsting for murder? Your loud-sounding threats cannot terrify me; though I be killed, Christ lives, Christ my Lord, and the Lord of all, blessed for ever and ever, Amen.' Prierio published a reply. The pope was at length obliged to impose silence on him.

"A new opponent soon entered the lists. He too was a Dominican. James Hochstraten, inquisitor at Cologne, was furious when he saw Luther's boldness. The man who was to hasten the ruin of the monks had appeared, but these sturdy champions would not quit the field without a fierce

combat. This combat they continued to wage with him throughout his whole life, though the proper personification of it is in Hochstraten; Hochstraten and Luther—the one, the free and intrepid Christian—the other, the blustering slave of monkish superstition. Hochstraten unchains his rage, and, with loud cries, demands the death of the heretic. His wish is to secure the triumph of Rome by the flames. ‘It is high treason against the church,’ exclaims he, ‘to let so execrable a heretic live another single hour. Let a scaffold be instantly erected for him!’ In vain were fire and sword, however, invoked against Luther. *The angel of Jehovah constantly encamped around him and shielded him.* Luther replied to Hochstraten briefly but very energetically, ‘Go,’ says he to him, when concluding; ‘go, delirious murderer, whose thirst can only be quenched by the blood of the brethren. My sincere desire is, that you never cease to denounce me as a heretic. Understand these things well, you enemy of the truth; and if your furious rage impel you to devise mischief against me, do it with circumspection, and time your measures well. God knows what I purpose, if he grants me my life. My hope and expectation will not deceive me.’ Hochstraten was silent.

“A more painful attack awaited the Reformer. Dr. Eck (called by Mosheim, Eckius), the celebrated professor of Ingolstadt; Luther’s friend, had received the famous theses. Prierio had represented Rome; Hochstraten had represented the monks; Eck represented the school. The School which, for about five centuries, had ruled Christendom, proudly rose up to crush the man who dared to assail it, with floods of contempt. The School and the Word came to blows on more than one occasion, but the present was the occasion on which the combat commenced. The professor of Ingolstadt, who had not feared to strike the first blow, began to be alarmed at the power of the opponent whom he had imprudently attacked, and would have willingly evaded a contest. This rupture between Luther and Eck made a sensation in Germany. ‘I am ready,’ says Luther, ‘either for peace or war, but I prefer peace. Grieve with us, that the devil has thrown among us the beginning of strife, and then rejoice

that Christ in his mercy has removed it.' About the same time, he addressed a most friendly letter to Eck, who, however, not only did not answer it, but did not even send him a verbal message. The breach became wider and wider. The pride of Eck, and his unforgiving temper, soon completely broke any remaining ties of friendship. Such were the struggles which *the champion of the word of God* had to maintain at the outset of his career.

"While combating inquisitors, university chancellors, and masters of the palace, he strove to diffuse sound religious knowledge among the multitude. With that view, he at this time published different popular writings, such as his Discourses on the Ten Commandments, and his Exposition of the Lord's Prayer for simple and ignorant laymen. Thus Luther faithfully fulfilled his resolution to open the eyes of a people whom priests had blindfolded, and were leading at their pleasure. His writings caused a new light to arise over all Germany, and shed the seeds of truth in abundance on a soil well prepared to receive it. His reputation, which was continually extending, and the courage with which he *raised the banner of Christ in the midst of an enslaved church*, made his sermons be followed with increasing interest. Never had the confluence been so great. One day he undertook to establish the doctrine of repentance. The discourse afterwards became very celebrated, and contained several of the fundamental principles of evangelical doctrine. He concludes, 'Repent, and do all the works that you can do; but let the faith which you have in the pardon of Jesus Christ stand in the first rank, and have sole command on the field of battle.' Thus spoke Luther to his astonished and enraptured hearers. All the scaffoldings which priests had, for their own profits, reared between God and the soul of man, were thrown down, and man brought face to face with his Maker. The monopoly of the sacerdotal caste was abolished, and the church emancipated.

"Meanwhile, the fire which had been kindled at Wittemberg behoved to be kindled elsewhere. The Augustin order were to hold their general chapter at Heidelberg, in 1518. Luther was invited to attend, but his friends did all they

could to dissuade him from undertaking the journey. In fact, the monks had laboured to render the name of Luther odious in all the places through which he had to pass. ‘What they might not dare to do by violence,’ said his friends, ‘they will accomplish by fraud and stratagem.’ Not allowing himself to be arrested in the discharge of a duty, by the fear of danger, he quietly set out on foot on the 13th April, 1518. Arrived at Heidelberg, he proposed to maintain theses which he had prepared, in a public discussion. The professors of the university would not allow the discussion to take place in their public hall, and it was held in the Augustin convent. The 26th of April was the day on which it took place. Heidelberg, at a later period, received the gospel, and even at this discussion in the convent, an observer might have augured that good would result from it. The reputation of Luther attracted a large concourse of hearers; professors, courtiers, citizens, and students, crowded to it. The Reformer founded his answers upon the Bible, to all enquirers after truth. After Luther’s departure, many began to teach at Heidelberg what the man of God had begun; the torch which he had kindled was not allowed to be extinguished. *The light radiated from numerous foci.* This period has been designated the seed-time of the Palatinate. The Count Palatine gave Luther a letter to the Elector, in which he said that ‘Luther had displayed so much ability in the discussion as to reflect great glory on the university of Wittemberg.’

“He was not permitted to return on foot. He arrived at Wittemberg on Saturday after the Ascension. Luther reposed for some time from the fatigues of his campaign and the discussion at Heidelberg, but this repose was only a preparation for more severe exertions. Truth had at length raised her head in the bosom of Christendom. Victorious over the inferior organs of the papacy, she behoved to have a struggle with its chief. We are going to see Luther at close quarters with Rome.

“This step was taken on his return from Heidelberg. His first theses on indulgences had been misunderstood, and he determined to explain their meaning with greater clear-

ness. Presenting his explanations with one hand to the enlightened and impartial among his countrymen, he, with the other, lays them before the throne of the sovereign pontiff. These explanations, which he denominated *solutions*, were written with great moderation. At the same time he showed that his convictions were immovable, and he courageously defended all the propositions which truth obliged him to maintain. He again repeated, that every Christian who truly repents possesses the remission of sins without indulgence; that the pope, like the humblest of priests, could only declare simply what God has already pardoned; that the treasure of the merits of the saints administered by the pope was a chimera, and that Holy Scripture was the only rule of faith. In these explanations, he says, ‘I give myself no trouble as to what pleases or displeases the pope. He is a man like other men. I wish to say the thing in a few words, and boldly. The Church stands in need of a reformation; and this cannot be the work either of a single man like the pope, or of many men like the cardinals, and fathers of councils; but it must be that of the whole world, or rather, it is a work which belongs to God only. *As to the time in which such a reformation ought to begin*” (mark the comment on the angel’s oath), “*He alone who created time can tell. The embankment is broken down, and it is no longer in our power to arrest the torrents which are rushing impetuously along.*’

“While Luther was looking with confidence towards Rome, Rome had thoughts of vengeance towards him. On the 3rd April, cardinal Raphael de Rovere had written to the Elector Frederick in the pope’s name, stating that suspicions were entertained of his faith, and that he ought to beware of protecting Luther. It is probable that Luther learned something of this letter sent to the Elector on the 7th July. On the 15th he delivered a discourse on excommunication, which made a profound impression. ‘Nobody,’ says he, ‘can reconcile a lapsed soul with God, save God himself. Nobody can separate man from communion with God unless it be man himself by his own sins! Happy he who dies unjustly excommunicated! While for righteous-

ness' sake he endures a heavy infliction on the part of man, he receives the crown of eternal felicity from the hand of God.' Some highly applauded this bold language, while others were more irritated by it. But Luther was no longer alone; a phalanx of defence against his enemies was raised around him. The prevailing impression of men was, that they were assisting, not at the establishment of a sect, but at a new birth of the church. The simple truth had placed Luther at the head of a mighty army.

"This army was needed, for the great began to move. The emperor Maximilian at this time held a Diet at Augsburg. Six electors attended in person, and all the Germanic states were represented at it, while the kings of France, Hungary, and Poland sent their ambassadors. The war against the Turks was one of the subjects for which the Diet had assembled. The legate of Leo X. strongly urged the prosecution of it, but the states, instructed by the bad use which had formerly been made of their contributions, and sagely counselled by the Elector Frederick, contented themselves with declaring that they would take the matter into consideration, and, at the same time, produced new grievances against Rome. A Latin discourse, published during the Diet, boldly called the attention of the German princes to the true danger. 'You wish,' said the author, 'to put the Turk to flight. This is well; but I am much afraid that you are mistaken as to his person. It is not in Asia, but in Italy, that you ought to seek him.' Another affair of no less importance was to occupy the Diet. Maximilian was desirous that his grandson Charles should be proclaimed king of the Romans. He was already king of Spain and Naples. The Elector strenuously opposed it, and the emperor's design failed.

"From this time the emperor sought to gain the good will of the pope; and as a special proof of his devotedness, on the 5th August, wrote him the following letter:—'Most Holy Father, we learned some days ago that a friar of the Augustin order, named Martin Luther, has begun to maintain divers propositions as to the commerce in indulgences. Our displeasure is the greater because the said friar finds

many protectors, among whom are powerful personages. If your holiness, and the very reverend fathers of the church, do not forthwith employ their authority to put an end to these scandals, not only will these pernicious doctors seduce the simple, but they will involve great princes in their ruin. We will take care that whatever your holiness may decide on this matter, for the glory of Almighty God, shall be observed by all in our empire.'

"The same day the Elector wrote to Raphael de Rovere, 'I can have no other wish than to show myself submissive to the universal church. Accordingly I have never defended the writings and sermons of Doctor Martin Luther. I understand, moreover, that he has always offered to appear with a safe-conduct before impartial, learned, and Christian judges, in order to defend his doctrine, and submit, in the event of being convinced by Scripture itself.'

"Leo X., who had hitherto allowed the affair to take its course, aroused by the cries of theologians and monks, instituted an ecclesiastical court, which was to try Luther at Rome, and in which Sylvester Prierio, the great enemy of the Reformer, was at once accuser and judge. The charge was soon drawn up, and Luther was summoned by the court to appear personally in sixty days. Luther was at Wittemberg, when, on the 7th August, only two days after the dispatch of the letters of Maximilian and Frederick, he received the citation from the Roman tribunal. 'At the moment,' said he, 'when I was expecting the benediction, I saw *the thunder* burst upon me. I was the lamb troubling the water to the wolf. Tezel escapes, and I must allow myself to be eaten.'

"This citation threw Wittemberg into consternation; for whatever course Luther might adopt he could not avert the danger. If he repaired to Rome, he must there become the victim of his enemies. If he refused, he would be condemned for contumacy. His friends were in dismay. Must the teacher of truth go with his life in his hand to that great city, drunk with the blood of the saints and martyrs of Jesus? Must this man, whom God appears to have formed for resisting a power which nothing hitherto has

been able to resist, be also overthrown? Luther himself saw no one who could save him, but he would rather die than endanger his prince. His friends at last fell on an expedient which would not compromise Frederick. Let him refuse a safe-conduct, and Luther will have a legitimate cause for refusing to appear at Rome. The friends of Luther did not confine themselves to consultation and complaint. Spalatin, on the part of the Elector, wrote to the emperor's secretary, 'Dr. Martin is very willing that his judges shall be all the universities of Germany, with the exception of Erfurt, Leipsic and Frankfort on the Oder, which he has ground to suspect. It is impossible for him to appear personally at Rome.' The university of Wittemberg wrote a letter of intercession to the pope himself, and thus spoke of Luther: 'The feebleness of his body, and the dangers of the journey, make it difficult, and even impossible, for him to obey the order of your holiness. We then, as obedient sons, entreat you, most holy father, to be pleased to regard him as a man who has never taught doctrines in opposition to the universal church.' To Miltitz, the university writes on the same day, 'The worthy father, Martin Luther, is the noblest and most honourable man of our university. For several years we have seen and known his ability, his knowledge, his high attainments in arts and literature, his irreproachable manners, and his altogether Christian conduct.' While the issue was anxiously waited for, the affair terminated more easily than might have been supposed. The legate De Vio, thinking that if he extinguished heresy he would appear at Rome with glory, asked the pope to remit the affair to him. Leo felt himself under obligation to Frederick, for having so strenuously opposed the election of young Charles. Accordingly, without adverting to his citation, he charged his legate by a brief, dated 23rd August, to examine the affair in Germany. The pope lost nothing by this mode of proceeding; and, at the same time, if Luther could be brought to a retractation, the noise and scandal which his appearance at Rome might have occasioned were avoided. 'We charge you,' said he, 'to bring personally before you the said Luther, who has

already been declared heretic by our dear brother, Jerome, Bishop of Asculan. For this purpose invoke the arm and assistance of our very dear son in Christ Maximilian, the other princes of Germany, and all its commonalities, universities, and powers ecclesiastical or secular; and if you apprehend him, keep him in safe custody, in order that he may be brought before us. If he returns to himself, and asks pardon for his great crime, asks it of himself, without being urged to do it, we give you power to receive him into the unity of holy mother church. If he persists in his obstinacy, and you cannot make yourself master of his person, we give you power to proscribe him in all parts of Germany, to banish, curse, and excommunicate all who are attached to him, and to order all Christians to shun their presence. And in order that this contagion may be the more easily extirpated, you will excommunicate all prelates, religious orders, communities, counts, dukes, and grandees (except the emperor Maximilian), who shall refuse to seize the said Martin Luther and his adherents, and send them to you under due and sufficient guard. And if (which God forbid) the said princes, communities, universities, grandees, or anyone belonging to them, offer an asylum to the said Martin or any of his adherents, in any way, and give him, publicly or in secret, by themselves or others, aid and counsel, we lay under interdict these princes, communities, and grandees, with their towns, burghs, fields and villages, whither said Martin may flee, as long as he shall remain there, and for three days after he shall have left. In regard to the laity, if they do not obey your orders instantly, and without any opposition, we declare them infamous (with the exception of the most worthy emperor), incapable of performing any lawful act, deprived of Christian burial, and stript of all fiefs which they may hold, whether of the apostolic see, or of any other superior whatsoever.'

"Such was the fate that awaited Luther. The monarch of Rome has leagued for his destruction, and to effect it, spared nothing, not even the peace of the tomb. His ruin seems inevitable. How will he escape this immense conspiracy? But Rome had miscalculated; a movement pro-

duced by the Spirit of God was not to be quelled by the decrees of its chancery." The "seven thunders uttered their voices" in vain. D'Aubigné continues:—

"Even the forms of a just and impartial inquest had not been observed. Luther had been declared heretic, not only without having been heard, but even before the expiry of the period named for his appearance. At the same time that Rome was secretly depositing *her thunders* in the hands of her legate, she was endeavouring, by smooth and flattering words, to detach the prince, whose power she most dreaded, from Luther's cause. The same day, 25th August, 1518, the pope wrote the Elector of Saxony. Having endeavoured to flatter the prince's self-love, he announced to Frederick, that he had charged Cardinal Saint Sixtus to examine the affair, and he enjoined him to put Luther into the hands of the legate, 'lest,' says he, 'the pious people of our time, and of future times, may one day lament and say, that the most pernicious heresy with which the church of God has been afflicted, was excited by the favour and support of this high and honourable House!'

"Thus Rome had taken all her measures. All the powers of the earth, emperor, pope, princes, and legates, began to move against this humble friar of Erfurt, whose internal combats we have already traced. 'The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers took counsel together against the Lord and against his anointed.'

"The letter and brief had not reached Germany, and Luther was still fearing that he would be obliged to appear at Rome, when a happy event gave him comfort. He needed a friend to solace him in his hours of depression. This God gave him in Melancthon. Four days after his arrival, he delivered his inaugural address. The whole university was assembled. The boy, as Luther calls him, spoke such elegant Latin and displayed so much knowledge, a mind so cultivated and a judgment so sound, that all his hearers were filled with admiration. Luther writing to Spalatin says, 'He is a man worthy of all honour.' Melancthon was able to return the affection of Luther, in whom he soon discovered a goodness of heart, a strength of

intellect, a courage and a wisdom, which he had not previously found in any man. 'If there is any one,' said he, 'whom I love strongly, and whom my whole soul embraces, it is Martin Luther.' Thus met Luther and Melancthon, and they were friends till death. The impulse which Melancthon gave to Luther, in regard to the translation of the Bible, is one of the most remarkable circumstances in the friendship of these two great men. As early as 1517, Luther had made some attempts at translation. Now aided by Melancthon, his task received a new impetus. Luther consulted him on difficult passages, and the work destined to be one of the greatest works of the Reformer, advanced more surely and more rapidly. Melancthon, on his part, became acquainted with a new theology. The beautiful and profound doctrine of justification by faith filled him with astonishment and joy. The school of Wittemberg underwent a transformation, and the contrast between it and other universities became still more prominent. Still, however, the landmarks of the Church were observed, though all felt they were on the eve of a great battle with the pope.

"A few days after the arrival of Melancthon, and before the pope's resolution transferring the citation of Luther from Rome to Augsburg could be known, Luther wrote Spalatin: — 'I ask not our sovereign to do anything whatever for the defence of my theses. I am willing to be delivered up and thrown single into the hands of my adversaries. Let him allow the whole storm to burst upon me. What I have undertaken to defend, I hope I shall be able, with the assistance of Christ, to maintain. Violence, indeed, must be submitted to, but still without abandoning the truth.' The prudent and pacific Staupitz, also wrote to Spalatin on the 7th September: — 'Cease not to exhort the prince, your master and mine, not to be alarmed at the roaring of the lions. Let him defend the truth, without troubling himself about Luther, or Staupitz, or the order. Let there be a place where men can speak freely and without fear. I know that the plague of Babylon — I had almost said of Rome — breaks forth against all who attack the abuses of those traffickers in Jesus Christ. I have, myself, seen a preacher

of the truth thrown headlong from the pulpit; I have seen him, though on a festival, bound and dragged to a dungeon. Others have seen still greater cruelties. Therefore, my dear friend, strive to make his Highness persevere in his sentiments.'

"The order to appear at Augsburg before the cardinal legate at length arrived. Luther had now to do with one of the princes of the Church. All his friends entreated him not to go. They feared that on the journey snares might be laid for him, and an attempt made on his life. Some employed themselves in looking out for an asylum for him. From different quarters Luther received the most alarming notices. Count Albert of Mansfield sent a message to him to beware of setting out, for some great barons had sworn to make themselves master of his person, and to strangle or drown him. But nothing could deter him. 'I am like Jeremiah,' he says at the period of which we are now speaking, 'Jeremiah, the man of quarrel and discord; but the more they multiply their menaces the more they increase my joy. They have already torn my honour and reputation to shreds. The only thing left me is my poor body, and let them take it; they will only shorten my life some few hours, my soul they cannot take from me. He who would publish the word of Christ in the world must expect death every hour.'

"The Elector was then at Augsburg. A short time before quitting that town after the Diet, he had of his own accord paid a visit to the legate. The cardinal, greatly flattered by this mark of respect from so illustrious a prince, promised that if the monk presented himself to him he would listen to him like a father, and kindly dismiss him. Spalatin, on the part of the prince, wrote to his friend that the pope had named a commission to try him in Germany; that the Elector would not allow him to be dragged to Rome; and that he must prepare to set out for Augsburg. Luther resolved to obey; but the warning he had received made him apply to Frederick for a safe-conduct. Frederick replied that it was unnecessary, and merely gave him recommendations to some of the leading counsellors of Augsburg. He also sent him some money for the journey. The

Reformer, poor and defenceless, set out on foot to place himself in the hands of his adversaries. By persevering in the face of his adversaries, and *proclaiming the truth with loud voice in the midst of the world*, Luther advanced the reign of truth. Arrived successively at Weimar and Nuremberg, Luther was accompanied from the latter place by two friends, who could not consent to allow him to travel alone, and meet the dangers which threatened him. They arrived at Augsburg on the evening of Friday, 7th October. Before Luther had seen anyone, he begged Link, one of his friends, to go and announce his arrival to the legate. Link did so, and humbly declared to the cardinal, on the part of Luther, that he was ready to appear at his order. The legate was delighted with the news. At last he had hold of this boisterous heretic, who, he assured himself, would not quit the walls of Augsburg as he had entered. The Diet was closed, and the emperor and the electors had already separated. The emperor, it is true, had not left, but was hunting in the neighbourhood. The ambassador of Rome was thus at Augsburg alone. Had Luther come during the Diet, he would have found powerful protectors; but now it seemed that everything must bend under the weight of papal authority. The judge, before whom Luther had to appear, was not fitted to increase his confidence. Thomas De Vio surnamed Cajetan was a lover of pomp and show; he almost gave a literal meaning to the Roman maxim, that legates are above kings, and surrounded himself with great state. Such was the man before whom the monk of Wittemberg was going to appear clothed in a frock which was not even his own. Besides, the acquirements of the legate, the austerity of his disposition, and the purity of his morals, gave him in Germany an influence and authority which other Roman courtiers would not easily have obtained. Rome saw that he would serve her purposes admirably. Thus, the personal qualities of Cajetan made him still more formidable. Moreover, the business entrusted to him was not complicated. Luther had already been declared a heretic. If he refused to retract, the duty of the legate was to put him in prison; or, if he escaped, to launch excom-

munication at every one who should dare to give him an asylum. This was all that Rome required to be done by the legate before whom Luther was cited.

“Luther had not long to wait the event. The cardinal sent Urban of Serra-Longa to prepare him for the retraction which he was expected to make. Serra-Longa arrived attended by two servants. After paying his respects to Luther in the warmest terms, the diplomatist added, in an affectionate manner, ‘I come to give you sage advice. Re-attach yourself to the church—submit unreservedly to the cardinal. Retract your injurious expressions. Remember the abbot Joachim of Florence. He, you know, had said heretical things, and yet was declared not heretical, because he retracted his errors.’ Luther spoke of defending himself. ‘Beware of doing so,’ said Serra-Longa, ‘would you pretend to fight with the legate of his holiness?’ Luther replied, ‘When it is proved that I have taught anything contrary to the Roman church, I will pass judgment on myself, and retract instantly. The whole question will be, whether the legate leans more upon St. Thomas than the faith authorises him to do? If he does, I will not yield to him.’ ‘Ah, ah,’ replied Serra-Longa, ‘do you pretend then to break lances?’ Then the Italian began to say things which Luther designates horrible. He pretended that false propositions might be maintained, provided they produced money, and filled the strong box—that the universities must take good care not to dispute on the authority of the pope—that their duty, on the contrary, was to maintain that the pope can, at his beck, alter or suppress articles of faith; adding other things of the same nature. But the wily Italian soon perceived that he was forgetting himself. Returning to soft words, he strove to persuade Luther to retract his doctrines, his oaths, and his theses. Luther contented himself with saying that he was quite disposed to exercise humility, give proof of obedience, and make satisfaction in whatever matters he had been mistaken. At these words Serra-Longa, overjoyed, exclaimed, ‘I am off to the legate, and you will follow me; everything will go off most admirably; it will be soon finished.’

“The visit and the strange assertions of Serra-Longa, whom

at a later period Luther calls an inexperienced mediator, made him resume courage. The counsellors and other inhabitants of Augsburg, to whom the Elector had recommended Luther, hastened to visit the monk. All with one voice entreated him not to go to the legate until he had procured a safe-conduct from the emperor himself. 'But,' replied Luther, 'I came to Augsburg without a safe-conduct, and have arrived in good health.' 'The Elector having recommended you to us, you ought to obey us,' said they, kindly but firmly. 'We know, that the cardinal at the bottom of his heart, is in the highest degree incensed against you. No trust can be put in the Italians.' These friends engaged to obtain the necessary safe-conduct from the emperor. They afterwards told Luther how many persons, even of elevated rank, were inclined in his favour. 'Even the minister of France, who quitted Augsburg a few days ago, spoke of you in the most honourable terms.' This statement struck Luther, and he afterwards remembered it. Thus, the most respectable citizens in one of the first cities of the empire were already gained to the Reformation. They were still conversing when Serra-Longa re-appeared. 'Come,' says he to Luther, 'the cardinal is waiting for you, and I myself am going to conduct you to his presence. Listen while I tell you how you are to appear. When you enter the hall where he is, you will prostrate yourself before him with your face on the ground; when he tells you to rise, you will get upon your knees, and not stand erect, but wait till he bids you. Recollect that it is before a prince of the church that you are going to appear. For the rest, fear nothing; the whole will be finished soon, and without difficulty.' Luther, who had promised this Italian that he would be ready to follow at his call, felt embarrassed. Yet he hesitated not to inform him of the advice which he had received from his Augsburg friends, and spoke to him of a safe-conduct. 'Beware of asking one,' replied Serra-Longa, 'you have no need of it. The legate is well-disposed, and quite ready to finish the thing amicably. If you ask a safe-conduct you will spoil your affair.' 'My gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony,' replied Luther, 'has recommended me to several honourable

men of this town, who counsel me to undertake nothing without a safe-conduct. I must follow their advice, for were I not to do so, and were anything to happen, they would write to the Elector, my master, that I had refused to listen to them.' Luther persisted in his resolution, and Serra-Longa saw himself obliged to return to his chief, to announce the obstacle which his mission had encountered at the moment when he was flattering himself with seeing it crowned with success. Thus terminated the conference of the day.

"On Monday evening, Serra-Longa returned to the charge. The courtier made it a point of honour to succeed in his negotiation. As soon as he entered he exclaimed, 'Why do you not come to the cardinal? He is waiting for you with the most indulgent feelings. The whole matter may be summed up in six letters—Revoca, Retract. Come, you have nothing to fear.' Luther, without entering into discussion said, 'As soon as I have obtained the safe-conduct, I will appear.' Serra-Longa broke out on hearing these words, but Luther was immovable. 'You imagine,' he exclaimed, 'doubtless, that the Elector will take up arms in your behalf, and for your sake run the risk of losing the territories handed down to him from his fathers.' 'God forbid,' said Luther. 'Abandoned by all, where will your refuge be?' added Serra-Longa. 'Under heaven,' replied Luther reverently. Serra-Longa, struck with this sublime reply, remained a moment silent, and then continued, 'What would you do if you had the pope, the legate, and all the cardinals in your hands, as they have you in theirs?' 'I would pay them all honour and respect,' replied Luther, 'but in my view, the word of God takes precedence of all.' 'Hem, hem! all honour,' said Serra-Longa, 'I do not believe a word of it.' He then went out, leapt into his saddle, and disappeared. Serra-Longa returned no more to Luther. At a later period we shall see him with loud cries demanding Luther's blood.

"The safe-conduct soon arrived. The legate, informed that Luther was next day to appear before him, assembled the Italians and Germans, in whom he had the greatest

confidence, in order to consider what was necessary to be done with the Saxon monk. Opinions were divided. 'He must,' says one, 'be compelled to retract.' 'He must be seized,' said another, 'and imprisoned.' A third thought that it was better to get quit of him; and a fourth that an attempt should be made to gain him by kindness and lenity. This last advice the cardinal at first seemed to have determined to adopt.

"The day of conference at length arrived. Luther repaired to the legate, accompanied by his friends. Luther found the apostolic nuncio and Serra-Longa in the hall, where the cardinal was waiting. The reception was cold, but polite. Luther, following the instructions which Serra-Longa had given him, prostrated himself before the cardinal; when told to rise, he put himself on his knees; and, on a new order from the legate, stood erect. The legate remained silent. Luther, on his part, waited till the prince should address him; but seeing he did not, he took his silence for an invitation to begin, and spoke as follows:—'Most worthy father, on the citation of his Papal Holiness, and at the request of my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, I appear before you as a submissive and obedient son of the holy Christian Church, and I acknowledge that I published the propositions and theses in question. I am ready to listen in all obedience to the charge brought against me, and to allow myself, if I am mistaken, to be instructed in the way of truth.' The cardinal replied, 'My dear Son, you have stirred up all Germany by your dispute on indulgences. I am told that you are a very learned doctor in the Scriptures, and have many disciples. Wherefore, if you would be a member of the church, and find in the pope a most gracious lord, listen to me. Here are three articles, which, by the order of our most holy father, Leo X., I have to lay before you. First, you must retrace your steps, acknowledge your faults, and retract your errors, propositions, and discourses; secondly, you must promise to abstain in future from circulating your opinions; and, thirdly, you must engage to be more moderate, and to avoid everything that might grieve or upset the church.' 'I request most worthy father,'

said Luther, 'that you will communicate to me the brief of the pope, in virtue of which you have received full power to dispose of this affair.' The audience stared with astonishment on hearing this bold request. 'This request, my dear Son,' said De Vio, 'cannot be granted. You must acknowledge your errors, take care of your words in future, and not return to your vomit.' 'Have the goodness, then,' said Luther, 'to tell me in what I have erred.' At this new request the Italian courtiers, who had expected to see the poor German on his knees crying mercy, were struck with still greater astonishment. De Vio assumed a tone of condescension, and said, 'Very dear Son!—Here are two propositions which you have advanced, and which you must first of all retract: First, the treasury of indulgences does not consist of the merits and sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ; second, the man who receives the Holy Sacrament must have faith in the grace which is offered to him. I will not, in order to combat these errors, invoke the authority of St. Thomas and the other scholastic doctors; I will found only on the authority of Holy Scripture, and speak with you in all friendship.' He soon, however, deviated from his rule. He combated Luther's first proposition by an *extravagant* of pope Clement, and the second by all sorts of scholastic dogmas. Luther, indignant at the authority which the legate ascribed to a decree of Rome, exclaimed, 'I cannot receive such constitutions as sufficient proofs in so important matters. For they wrest the Holy Scripture, and never quote it appositely.' 'The pope has authority and power over all things,' said De Vio. 'Save Scripture,' retorted Luther. 'Save Scripture,' said De Vio ironically, 'the pope, know you not, is above councils. Even recently he condemned and punished the council of Bâsle.' 'The university of Paris appealed,' replied Luther. 'These Parisian gentry will pay the penalty,' was De Vio's reply. 'As to indulgences,' Luther said, 'if it can be shown that I am mistaken, I am quite willing to be instructed. On the article of faith, were I to yield a whit, I should be denying Jesus Christ. With regard to it, then, I am neither able or willing to yield, and by the grace of God never shall.'

‘Whether you will or not,’ replied De Vio, beginning to lose temper, ‘you must this very day retract that article; otherwise for that article alone, I will reject and condemn all your doctrine.’ ‘I have no will apart from that of the Lord,’ said Luther, ‘He will do with me what pleases him. But had I five heads, I would lose them all sooner than retract the testimony which I have borne to holy Christian faith.’ To this De Vio replies, ‘I did not come here to reason with you. Retract, or prepare to suffer the pains which you have deserved.’ Luther saw plainly that it was impossible to settle the matter by a conference. Having signified his intention to withdraw, the legate said to him, ‘Do you wish me to give you a safe-conduct to Rome?’ But the Reformer, who saw all the difficulties with which he was surrounded even at Augsburg, took good care not to accept a proposal, the effect of which could only have been to give him over, bound hand and foot, to the vengeance of his enemies. He rejected it as often as Cajetan repeated it, and this was frequently. The legate then dismissed the monk, hoping to succeed better another time. Luther and De Vio had mutually learned to know each other, and both prepared for their second interview.

“The counsellors of the empire, having intimated to the legate through the bishop of Trent, that Luther was provided with an imperial safe-conduct, and having caused it to be declared at the same time that nothing was to be attempted against the doctor’s person, De Vio became angry, and sharply replied in words characteristically Roman, ‘Very well, but I will do what the pope commands.’ We know what this was. The next day both parties prepared for the interview which promised to be decisive. The friends of Luther accompanied him to the legate. Staupitz thoroughly comprehended Luther’s situation, and knew if he did not fix his eye solely on the Lord, he must succumb. ‘My dear brother,’ said he to him seriously, ‘constantly remember that you have begun these things in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.’ Luther, agreeable to his resolution, had written his reply, and, after the usual salutation, read with a firm voice:—‘I declare that I honour the holy

Roman Church, and will continue to honour it. I have sought the truth in public discussions; and all that I have said, I regard, even at this hour, as just, true, and Christian. Still I am a man, and may be mistaken; I am therefore disposed to receive instruction and correction in the things in which I may have erred. I declare myself ready to reply, by word of mouth or by writing, to all the objections and all the charges which my lord, the legate, may bring against me. In a word, I am ready to do all that may be demanded of a Christian. But I protest solemnly against the course which is sought to be given to this affair, and against the strange pretension of constraining me to retract without having refuted me.' The legate, who had not expected this protestation, sought to conceal his uneasiness by pretending to laugh at it, and assuming an exterior of gentleness, said to Luther smiling, 'This protestation is unnecessary. I will not dispute with you either in public or in private, but I purpose to arrange the affair kindly, and like a father. Abandon, I pray you, a useless design. Rather return to yourself, acknowledge the truth, and I am ready to reconcile you with the church, and the sovereign bishop. Whether you will or not it matters little. It will be hard for you to kick against the pricks.' Luther, who saw himself as if he were already proved a rebellious child, rejected of the church, exclaimed, 'I cannot retract, but I offer to answer and in writing. We had enough of debating yesterday.' 'Debating, my dear son,' replied De Vio, 'I did not debate with you. I have no wish to debate, but in order to please the most serene Elector Frederick, I am willing to hear you, and exhort you amicably and paternally.' Still De Vio, who felt that before the respectable witnesses who were present at the conference it was at least necessary to seem to try to convince Luther to return to the two propositions which he had singled out as fundamental errors, thoroughly resolved to let the Reformer speak as little as possible. Sometimes he jests, sometimes he scolds; he declaims with impassioned heat, mixes up the most heterogeneous subjects, quotes St. Thomas and Aristotle, cries and gets into a passion, and

then apostrophizes Luther. Luther more than ten times tries to speak, but the legate instantly interrupts him, and showers down menaces upon him. Retractation! Retractation, is the whole sum of his demand; he thunders and domineers. Staupitz interferes to stop the legate. 'Have the goodness,' said he, 'to give Doctor Martin time to answer.' But the legate recommences his discourse. If he cannot convince, and if he dares not strike, he at least can stun. Luther and Staupitz saw clearly that they must abandon the hope, not only of enlightening De Vio by discussion, but also of making a useful profession of faith. Luther therefore requested to be permitted to write, and send his written reply to the legate. Staupitz supported him, several others who were present joined their entreaties, and Cajetan, notwithstanding his repugnance for what was written, at last consented. The meeting broke up. The hope of terminating the affair at this interview was adjourned, and it became necessary to await the result of a subsequent conference.

"Luther left the cardinal's palace delighted that his request had been granted. In going and returning he was the object of public attention. It was felt by all the enlightened men, that Luther then pleaded at Augsburg the cause of the gospel, justice, and liberty. The lowest of the people alone were with Cajetan. It became more and more evident that the legate had no wish to hear any more from Luther than the words, 'I retract;' and these words Luther was resolved not to pronounce. What will be the issue of this unequal struggle? Will not the whole power of Rome, brought to bear on a single man, succeed in crushing him? Luther sees this. Feeling the weight of the terrible hand under which he is placed, he gives up the hope of ever returning to Wittemberg. He sees excommunication hanging over his head, and has no doubt that it must shortly fall upon him. These prospects afflict him, but he is not overwhelmed. His confidence in God is not shaken. God may break the instrument which He has been pleased till now to employ, but the truth will be maintained. Whatever happens, Luther must defend it to the last. He accordingly

begins to prepare the protestation which he is to present to the legate.

“ On Friday, the 14th October, Luther returned to the cardinal, accompanied by the counsellors of the Elector. Luther advanced, and presented his protestation to the legate. The cardinal’s people looked with astonishment at a writing, which, in their eyes, was so audacious. In his declaration, Luther says, ‘ You oppose to me, that the treasury of indulgences is the merit of Jesus Christ and the saints ; whereas I deny this in my theses. The voice of our Lord Jesus Christ rises far above all the voices of men, whatever be the names they bear,’ ” saying, “ Write not the things which the seven thunders uttered.” He continues, “ ‘ The saints are not saved by their merits, but only by the mercy of God, as I have declared. I maintain this, and adhere firmly to it. The words of Holy Scripture, which declare that the saints have not enough of merit, must take precedence of the words of men, who affirm that they have too much ; for the pope is not above, but beneath the word of God. I have also affirmed that no man can be justified before God, unless it be by faith, and hence that it was necessary for man to believe with full assurance that he has obtained grace. To doubt of this grace, is to reject it. The righteousness and the life of the righteous is his faith.’ Luther proves his proposition by a multitude of quotations from Scripture. The legate had taken the declaration from Luther’s hands, and after having perused it, said to him coldly, ‘ You have here useless verbiage ; you have written many vain words ; you have answered the two articles foolishly, and blotted your paper with a number of passages of Holy Scripture which have no reference to the subject.’ Then De Vio threw down the protestation disdainfully, and resuming the tone which he had found tolerably successful at the last interview, began to cry at full pitch that Luther must retract. Luther was immovable. ‘ Friar ! Friar ! ’ exclaims De Vio, in Italian, ‘ last time you were very good, but to-day you are very naughty.’ Then the cardinal begins a long discourse, drawn from the writings of St. Thomas, loudly extols the constitution of Clement VI.,

and persists in maintaining, that, in virtue of this constitution, the very merits of Jesus Christ are distributed to the faithful by means of indulgences. He thinks he has silenced Luther, who sometimes begins to speak, but De Vio scolds, thunders away without ceasing, and insists on having the whole field of battle to himself. Luther's indignation at length bursts forth : it is his turn to astonish the spectators, who deem him already vanquished by the volubility of the prelate. He raises his powerful voice, seizes the favourite objection of the cardinal, and makes him pay dear for his temerity in having entered the lists with him. 'Retract !' says De Vio, 'Retract ! or if you don't, I send you to Rome, to appear there before the judges entrusted with the cognizance of your cause. I excommunicate you ; you, all your partisans, all who are or may become favourable to you, and I reject them from the church. Full authority in this respect has been given me by the holy apostolic see. Think you your protectors can stop me ? Do you imagine that the pope cares for Germany ? The little finger of the pope is stronger than all the German princes.' 'Deign,' replies Luther, 'to send the written reply which I handed you to pope Leo X. with my very humble prayers.' At these words, the legate, glad to find a moment's respite, again wraps himself up in a feeling of his dignity, and proudly and passionately says to Luther :—'Retract or return not.' Luther is struck with the expression. This time he gives no verbal answer, but bows and takes his leave, followed by the Elector's counsellors. The cardinal and his Italians, left alone, stare at each other, confounded at the issue of the debate.

“ Thus the Dominican system, clad in the Roman purple, had proudly dismissed its humble opponent. Of the two combatants, he who withdrew was master of the field. This is the first step by which the church detached itself from the papacy. Luther and De Vio never saw each other again ; but the Reformer had made a powerful impression on the legate, which was never entirely effaced. The theologians of Rome were surprised and displeased at his statements on justification in his commentary on the epistle to

the Romans. The Reformer did not recoil, did not retract; but his judge changed his views, and indirectly retracted his errors. In this way was the Reformer's unshaken fidelity rewarded. Luther was filled with peace and joy. Still the news brought to him were not at all satisfactory. The rumour in the town was, that if he would not retract, he was to be seized and immured in a dungeon. Staupitz himself, it was confidently said, had been obliged to consent to it. Luther cannot believe what is told him of his friend. Notwithstanding the danger which threatens him he resolves not to quit Augsburg.

“In an interview with Staupitz, the legate said to him, ‘Try then to persuade your monk to make a retractation. Of a truth I am otherwise satisfied with him, and he has not a better friend than I.’ ‘I have done so already,’ said Staupitz, ‘and will still counsel him to submit to the church in all humility.’ De Vio replied, ‘You must answer the arguments which he draws from Scripture.’ ‘I must confess to you, my lord,’ said Staupitz, ‘that is beyond my strength; for Dr. Martin is my superior both in talent and in knowledge of the Holy Scripture.’ ‘Are you aware, then,’ said De Vio, ‘that, as partisans of a heretical doctrine, you are yourselves liable to the pains of the church.’ ‘Deign to resume the conference with Luther. Appoint a public discussion of the controverted points,’ added Staupitz. ‘I won’t have any further discussion with that beast,’ said De Vio, ‘for it has in its head piercing eyes and strange speculations.’ Staupitz at last obtained the cardinal’s promise to give Luther a written statement of what he was to retract. The vicar-general went immediately to Luther and tried to bring about some arrangement. ‘Refute then,’ says Luther, ‘the passages of Scripture which I have brought forward.’ ‘It is above my power,’ said Staupitz. ‘Well,’ said Luther, ‘it is against my conscience to retract, so long as no other explanation can be given of these passages. What!’ continued he, ‘the cardinal pretends, as you assure me, that he is desirous to arrange the affair without shame or disadvantage to me. Ah! these are Roman words, and signify my disgrace and eternal ruin. What else has he to

expect, who, from fear of man, and against the voice of his conscience, abjures the truth?" His conscience tells him, "Write not the things which the seven thunders uttered."

"Staupitz did not insist: he merely intimated that the cardinal had consented to give him a written statement of the points of which he demanded a retraction. They separated for a short time, Staupitz promising to return. Luther, left alone in his cell, wrote to Spalatin, and begged him to inform the Elector how matters stood. 'I have neither hope nor confidence in the legate,' said he, 'I will not retract a single syllable. I will publish the reply which I have sent him, in order that, if he proceeds to violence, his shame may extend over all Christendom.' To Doctor Carlstadt he wrote, 'For three days my affair has been under discussion, and things are now come to this, that I have no hope of returning to you, and expect nothing but excommunication. Either I shall return to you without having suffered harm, or, struck with excommunication, will be obliged to seek an asylum elsewhere. Be this as it may, comport yourself valiantly, stand firm, exalt Christ intrepidly and joyfully. I will not become a heretic by retracting the faith which made me become a Christian. Better be hunted, cursed, burnt, and put to death. Pray for me, and also for yourselves; for the affair, which is here discussed, is yours also. *It is that of faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and of Divine grace.*'

"Staupitz soon returned; the Elector's envoys also arrived after they had taken leave of the cardinal. Some other friends of the gospel joined them, and Luther, seeing the generous men thus assembled on the point of separating, perhaps separating from himself for ever, proposed that they should join in celebrating the Lord's supper. The proposal was accepted, and this little flock of believers communicated in the body and blood of Jesus Christ.

"The next day Luther, receiving no message from the cardinal, begged his friend Dr. Link to go to him. De Vio received Link with affability, and assured him that he would act only as a friend. 'I no longer,' said he, 'regard Dr. Martin Luther as a heretic. I will not excommunicate

him at this time, at least if I do not receive other orders from Rome. I have sent his reply to the pope by an express.' The smoother the legate's words, however, became, the less the Germans trusted him. 'The legate,' said they, 'is plotting some mischief by the courier of whom he speaks; there is good ground to fear that you will all be seized and cast into prison.' Staupitz and Link, therefore, determined to quit Augsburg. Embracing Luther, who persisted in remaining, they set out in all haste by different roads for Nuremberg, not without a feeling of great uneasiness as to the fate of the intrepid witness whom they had left behind. Luther waiting in vain for a message from the legate, resolved to write to him. He received no answer to his letter. Cajetan and his courtiers became all at once motionless. Might it not be the calm which precedes the storm? Luther's friends were assured that the legate was preparing to seize Luther; that there was not an instant to be lost, and said to Luther, 'Prepare an appeal to the pope and quit Augsburg without delay.' Luther, whose presence in the town four days after the departure of the Saxon counsellors whom the Elector had sent to watch over his safety had sufficiently demonstrated that he feared nothing, at length yielded to the urgent entreaties of his friends. Wishing to leave a notification to De Vio, he wrote him on Tuesday, the evening before his departure. This second letter is firmer in its tone than the former. It would seem that Luther, on perceiving that all his advances were vain, began to hold up his head, and show that he had a due sense both of his own rights, and of the injustice of his enemies.

"Luther, having written his letter, which was not sent to the legate till after his departure, prepared to quit Augsburg. On Wednesday before day-break he was ready to depart. His friends advised him to use great precaution. A pony was brought to the gate of the convent, and bidding adieu to his brethren, he mounted and set off, without bridle, or boots, or spurs, and unarmed. The magistrates had sent one of their officers on horseback to accompany him. The servant led him in the darkness through the silent

streets of Augsburg, towards a small gate which was pierced in the city wall, and which orders had been given should be opened to him. Passed through the gate, they put their horses to the gallop, and make off in all haste.

“When the cardinal was informed of Luther’s departure, he was astonished, and even, as he declares in a letter to the Elector, frightened and amazed. In fact, he had grounds for irritation. His ambition was to cure the wounds of the church, and re-establish the pope’s influence in Germany; and lo! the heretic has escaped not only without being punished, but even without having been humbled. What will be said at the Vatican? What tidings will arrive at Rome? Serra-Longa and the Italians are furious at seeing persons of their ability outwitted by a German monk. The affront cries for vengeance, and we shall soon see him giving vent to his wrath in a letter to the Elector.

“Luther continued with his guide to flee from Augsburg. He urged his steed to the utmost speed. He thought of the real or supposed flight of John Huss, the manner in which he was laid hold of, and the assertion of his adversaries, who pretended that the flight annulled the emperor’s safe-conduct, and entitled them to condemn him to the flames. These uneasy thoughts merely crossed Luther’s mind. Escaped from the terrible hand of Rome, *which had already crushed so many thousand witnesses of the truth*, and drenched herself with blood, now that he is free, now that he sees himself wonderfully delivered—his whole soul magnifies the Lord. Luther is thus filled with joy. At Nuremberg, he for the first time saw the brief which the pope had sent to Cajetan respecting him. He was indignant at it. ‘It is impossible to believe,’ says he, ‘that anything so monstrous could emanate from a sovereign pontiff.’

“Luther made haste to be at Wittemberg by the 31st October, expecting that the Elector would be there at the Feast of All Saints, and that he would be able to see him. The brief which he had read at Nuremberg had made him fully aware of the danger of his situation. In fact, being already condemned at Rome, he could not hope either to remain at Wittemberg, or to be in peace and safety any-

where else. The protection of the Elector might, perhaps, defend him, but he was far from being able to calculate upon it. He arrived at Wittemberg by the 30th October, but his haste had been to no purpose, as neither the Elector nor Spalatin came to the festival. His friends were overjoyed on seeing him again among them. The very day of his arrival, he wrote to Spalatin, 'I came back to Wittemberg to-day, safe and sound, by the grace of God; but how long I shall remain is more than I know.'

"De Vio did not wait long, after Luther's departure, to vent all his indignation to the Elector. His letter breathes vengeance. 'Since friar Martin,' he says in conclusion, 'cannot be brought by paternal methods to acknowledge his error, and remain faithful to the Catholic Church, I pray your Highness to send him to Rome, or banish him from your States. Be assured that this difficult, naughty, and venomous affair, cannot last longer; for when I shall have acquainted our most holy lord with all the craft and malice, there will soon be an end of it.' In a postscript, in his own hand, the cardinal entreats the Elector not to sully his own honour, and that of his illustrious ancestors, for a miserable, paltry friar.

"Luther was filled with indignation on reading the copy of this letter which the Elector sent him. His reply to the Elector is full of the courage, dignity and faith, which he always manifested in the most difficult crises of his life. He thus concludes, 'Let your Highness listen to the voice of your honour and your conscience, and not send me to Rome. No man can command you to do it, for it is impossible I can be in safety there. It would be to order you to betray Christian blood. They have paper, pens and ink, and they have also notaries without number. It is easy for them to write, and show wherein and how I have erred. It will cost less to instruct me, by writing while I am absent, than while present to accomplish my death by stratagem. I resign myself to exile. My enemies are so ensnaring me on all sides, that I can nowhere live in safety. In order that no evil may befall you on my account, I, in the name of God, abandon your territories; I will go wherever an

Almighty and merciful God wishes me to be. Let Him do with me as seemeth Him good. Thus, then, most serene Elector, with veneration I bid you farewell. I commend you to Almighty God, and give you immortal thanks for all your kindness towards me. Whatever the people among whom I shall live in future, I will always remember you, and gratefully pray for the happiness of you and yours. I am still, thank God, full of joy, and I bless Him that Christ His Son counts me worthy of suffering in so holy a cause. May He eternally guard your illustrious Highness! Amen.'

"This letter made a profound impression on the Elector. He replied to the legate some days after, 'Since Doctor Martin appeared before you at Augsburg, you ought to be satisfied. We did not expect that without having convicted him you would have thought of constraining him to retract. None of the learned in our dominions have told us that the doctrine of Martin is impious, anti-christian, and heretical.' The prince then refuses to send Luther to Rome, or banish him from his States. This letter, which was communicated to Luther, filled him with joy." The voice from heaven sounds in his heart, "Write not the things which the seven thunders uttered." "Luther writes to Spalatin, 'Good God, with what joy have I read and re-read it. I know what confidence may be put in these words, so admirable at once for vigour and moderation. I fear the Romans will not comprehend all that is meant by them, but they will at least comprehend that what they thought already finished is not even begun. Have the goodness to present my thanks to the prince.'

"Luther, thinking that he might soon be banished from Germany, employed himself in preparing the Acts of the Conference of Augsburg for publication. He saw the storm ready to burst but feared it not. His friends were in great fear on his account. His enemies could not understand what it was that gave him so much confidence. 'It must be in Erasmus, or Capito, or some other of the learned,' said some. 'No! No!' replied the bishop of Brandenburg, 'the pope would give himself very little trouble with such folks as

these. His trust is in the university of Wittemberg and the Duke of Saxony.' Thus, both were ignorant of the fortress in which the Reformer had taken refuge. Thoughts of departure flitted across Luther's mind. 'If I remain here,' said he, 'the liberty of speaking and writing will, as to many things, be wrested from me. If I depart I will freely unbosom the thoughts of my heart, and offer my life to Jesus Christ.' France was the country in which Luther hoped he would be able, untrammelled, to announce the truth. 'I am,' said he, one day in the pulpit, 'a precarious and uncertain preacher. How often have I not suddenly set out without bidding you farewell. In case the same thing should happen again, and I not return, here receive my adieus. I warn you, in fine, not to be alarmed though the papal censures let loose all their fury on me. Impute it not to the pope, and wish no ill to him or any other mortal whatsoever, but commit the whole matter to God.'

"The moment seemed to have at length arrived. The prince gave Luther to understand he was desirous of his removal to a distance from Wittemberg; and the wishes of the Elector were too sacred for him not to hasten to comply with them. He accordingly made preparations for his departure. Another letter is brought to him; it is a new order to depart. The prince asks why he is so long in setting out. Filled with sadness, he still, however, took courage and said firmly and joyfully to his friends, 'Father and mother forsake me, but the Lord will take me up.' They were deeply moved. What is to become of him? If Luther's protector rejects him, who will receive him? The gospel, and the truth, and this admirable work, must doubtless fall with their illustrious witness. The Reformation apparently is hanging by a thread. Luther and his friends spoke little. Stunned with the blow, they melt into tears. But some moments after, a second message arrives, and Luther opens the letter. The whole aspect is changed. 'As the new envoy of the pope hopes that everything may be arranged by means of a conference, remain still.' So says the letter. Never were Luther and the work of the Reformation at a lower ebb than at this moment. Their

destinies seemed to be decided, but an instant sufficed to change them. Arrived at the lowest point in his career, the doctor of Wittemberg rapidly re-ascended ; and thenceforward his influence ceased not to increase. In the language of a prophet, 'The Eternal commands, and His servants descend into the depths ; again they mount up to heaven.' Spalatin having, by order of Frederick, invited Luther to an interview with him, 'If the censures of Rome arrive,' said Luther, 'I certainly will not remain at Wittemberg.' 'Beware of being too precipitate with your journey to France,' replied Spalatin, who left, telling him to wait till he heard from him. 'Only recommend my soul to Christ,' said Luther to his friends, 'I see that my adversaries are strong in their resolutions to destroy me, but at the same time Christ strengthens me in my resolution not to yield to them.'

"Luther at this time published the 'Acts of the Conference at Augsburg.' In a letter to Link, he says, 'I send you my Acts. They are more cutting perhaps than the legate expected ; but my pen is ready to give birth to far greater things. I know not myself whence those thoughts come. In my opinion the affair is not even commenced ; so far are the grandees of Rome from being entitled to hope it is ended. I will send you what I have written, in order that you may see whether I have divined well in thinking that the Antichrist of which the apostle Paul speaks is now reigning in the court of Rome. I believe I am able to demonstrate that it is at this day worse than the very Turks.'

"Ominous rumours reached Luther from all quarters. One of his friends wrote to him that a new envoy of Rome had received orders to seize him, and deliver him up to the pope. Another told him that in travelling he had fallen in with a courtier, who declared that he had come under an obligation to deliver Luther into the hands of the sovereign pontiff. 'But,' wrote the Reformer, 'the more their fury and violence increase, the less I tremble.'

"At Rome there was great dissatisfaction with Cajetan. 'He is wholly to blame,' said the Roman courtiers ; 'of what use was it to irritate Luther by insults and menaces, instead of gaining him over by the promise of a good bishopric, or a

cardinal's hat?' However it was necessary to repair the blunder. As it was impossible for Roman ecclesiastics to suspect what constituted the strength and courage of Luther, they imagined that the Elector was much more implicated in the affair than he really was. The pope therefore resolved to follow another line of conduct. He caused his legate in Germany to publish a bull, confirming the doctrine of indulgences in the very points in which they were attacked, but without mentioning either the Elector or Luther. As the Reformer had always expressed his readiness to submit to the decision of the Roman church, the pope thought that he must now either keep his word, or stand openly convicted as a disturber of the peace of the church, and a contemner of the holy apostolic see. But nothing is gained by obstinately opposing the truth. In vain had the pope threatened to excommunicate every man who should teach otherwise than he ordered; the light was not arrested by such orders. The wise plan would have been to curb the pretensions of the vendors of indulgences. This decree of Rome was therefore a new blunder. By legalising clamant errors, it irritated all the wise, and made it impossible for Luther to return. 'It was thought,' says a Roman Catholic historian, a great enemy of the Reformation, 'that this bull had been made solely for the interest of the pope and the mendicants, who began to find that nobody would give anything for their indulgences.'

"The cardinal De Vio published the bull at Lintz, in Austria, on the 13th December, 1518, but Luther had already placed himself beyond its reach. On the 28th November, in the chapel of Corpus Christi at Wittemberg, he had appealed from the pope to a general council of the church. He foresaw the storm which was gathering around him, and he knew that God alone could avert it. Still he did as duty called him. He must, no doubt, quit Wittemberg as soon as the Roman anathema should arrive, but he was unwilling to quit Saxony and Germany without a strong protestation. This he accordingly drew up; and in order that it might be ready for circulation the moment the furies of Rome, as he expresses it, should reach him, he

caused it to be printed, under the express condition that the bookseller should deposit all the copies in his custody. But the bookseller, in his eagerness for gain, sold almost the whole. Luther felt annoyed, but the thing was done. This bold protestation spread everywhere. In it, Luther declared anew that he had no intention to say anything against the Holy Church, or the authority of the apostolic see, or the pope, well advised. 'But,' continues he, 'considering that the pope, who is the vicar of God upon earth, may, like any other vicar, err, sin, or lie, and that the appeal to a general council is the only safeguard against unjust proceedings which it is impossible to resist, I feel myself obliged to have recourse to it!' Luther now addresses the whole church, and the voice which proceeds from the chapel of Corpus Christi, must reach the whole members of Christ's flock. There is no want of courage in the Reformer, and here he gives a new proof of it. Will God fail him? The answer will be found in the different phases of the Reformation, which are still to be exhibited.

"Dangers had gathered round Luther and the Reformation. The doctor of Wittenberg's appeal to a general council was a new attack on papal authority. By a bull of Pius II. the greater excommunication had been denounced even against emperors who should dare to incur the guilt of such a revolt. Hence a new message from Leo might have thrown the Reformer among strangers, who would be afraid to compromise themselves by receiving a monk whom Rome had anathematized. But at the moment when all the courtiers of Leo X. were urging him to rigorous measures, and when one blow more might have placed his adversary in his hands, the pope suddenly changed his course to one of conciliation and apparent mildness. *This new mode of action on the part of Rome, at such a moment, is so extraordinary that it is impossible not to recognise in it a higher and mightier hand.*

"Miltitz, chamberlain to the pope, set out with a commission to examine into the state of affairs, and to gain over the Elector's counsellors, for whom he had special letters. Rome hoped that, by securing the favour of the persons about the prince, she would soon become mistress of her formidable

adversary. The mere rumour of the new legate's arrival filled the Elector's court, the university, the town of Wittemberg, and all Saxony with suspicion and distrust. 'Thank God,' wrote Melancthon, 'Martin still breathes.' It was confidently stated that the Roman chamberlain had received orders to possess himself of Luther's person, by force or fraud; and the doctor was advised on all hands, to be on his guard against the stratagems of Miltitz. 'His object in coming,' said they, 'is to seize you and give you up to the pope. Persons worthy of credit have seen the briefs of which he is the bearer.' 'I await the will of God,' replied Luther. In fact, Miltitz brought letters to the Elector and his counsellors, to the bishops, and to the burgomaster of Wittemberg. He was also provided with seventy apostolic briefs. Should the flattery and the favours of Rome attain their object, and Frederick deliver Luther into her hands, these seventy briefs were to serve as a kind of passport. He was to produce and post up one of them in each of the towns through which he had to pass, and hoped he might thus succeed in dragging his prisoner, without opposition all the way to Rome. The pope seemed to have taken every precaution. An unexpected event relieved Luther, the Elector, and the Reformation from their difficult situation. The aspect of affairs suddenly changed. On the 12th January, 1519, Maximilian, the emperor of Germany, died, and Frederick of Saxony became regent of the empire. From this time, the Elector feared not the schemes of nuncios, while new interests began to engross the court of Rome—interests which, obliging her to be chary of giving offence to Frederick, arrested the blow which Miltitz and De Vio were undoubtedly meditating.

"Miltitz, having arrived in Saxony before the death of Maximilian, lost no time in visiting his old friend, Spalatin; but no sooner did he begin his complaint against Luther than the chaplain made an attack upon Tezel, acquainting the nuncio with the lies and blasphemies of the vendor of indulgences, and assuring him that all Germany blamed the Dominican for the division which was rending the church. Miltitz was taken by surprise. Instead of accuser he had

become the accused. Turning all his wrath upon Tezel, he summoned him to appear at Altenburg and give an account of his conduct. Tezel refused to obey the nuncio's summons. 'Martin Luther,' he says, 'has so stirred up men in power, and incensed them against me that I am not in safety anywhere. I cannot possibly come to you.'

"Miltitz had orders, in the first instance to employ the arms of persuasion ; and it was only in the event of failure, that he was to produce his seventy briefs, and at the same time endeavour by all the favours of Rome, to induce the Elector to put down Luther. He accordingly expressed a desire to have an interview with the Reformer. Their common friend, Spalatin, offered his house for this purpose, and Luther left Wittemberg on the 2nd or 3rd of January to repair to Altenburg. At this interview, Miltitz exhausted all the address of a diplomatist and a Roman courtier. 'Dear Martin,' said the pope's chamberlain to him, 'do you know that you have stirred up the whole world against the pope and attached it to yourself. Had I an army of twenty-five thousand men, assuredly I would not undertake to seize you and carry you off to Rome.' 'God,' says Luther, 'arrests the billows of the ocean at the shore, and arrests them by the sand.' The nuncio continued, 'Do you yourself bind up the wound which you have inflicted on the church, and which you alone can cure. Beware,' added he, letting a few tears fall, 'beware of raising a tempest, which would bring ruin on Christendom.' He then began gradually to insinuate that a recantation was the only remedy for the evil ; but he at the same time softened the offensiveness of the term by giving Luther to understand that he had the highest esteem for him, and by expressing his indignation at Tezel. The net was laid by a skilful hand, and how was it possible to avoid being taken in it ? 'Had the archbishop of Mentz spoken thus to me at the outset,' said the Reformer afterwards, 'this affair would not have made so much noise.' Luther resumed, 'I offer to be silent in future as to these matters, and let the affair die out of itself, provided my opponents also are silent ; but if they continue to attack me, a petty quarrel will soon beget a

serious combat. My armour is quite ready. I will do still more,' added he, after a momentary pause; 'I will write his holiness, acknowledging that I have been somewhat too violent, and declaring that it was as a faithful child of the Church I combated harangues which subjected her to mockery and insult from the people. I even consent to publish a document in which I will request all who read my books not to see anything in them adverse to the Roman Church, but to remain subject to her. Yes, I am disposed to do every thing, and bear every thing; but as to retraction, never expect it from me.' Luther's decided tone convinced Miltitz that the wisest course was to appear satisfied with the promise which the Reformer had just made, and he merely proposed that an archbishop should be appointed arbiter to decide certain points, which might come under discussion. 'Be it so,' said Luther, 'but I am much afraid that the pope will not consent to have a judge. In that case no more will I accept the judgment of the pope, and then the strife will begin anew. The pope will give out the text, and I will make the commentary.'

"Thus terminated the first interview between Luther and Miltitz. They had a second, in which the truce, or rather peace, was signed. Luther immediately informed the Elector of what had passed. 'Most serene prince and gracious lord,' wrote he, 'I hasten very humbly to inform your Electoral Highness, that Charles de Miltitz and I have at length agreed, and have terminated the affair by means of the two following articles:—1st. Both parties are forbidden to preach or write, or to do anything further in reference to the dispute which has arisen. 2ndly. Miltitz will immediately acquaint the holy father with the state of matters. His holiness will order an enlightened bishop to enquire into the affair, and specify the erroneous articles, which I am required to retract. If I am found to be in error, I will retract willingly, and never more do anything that may be prejudicial to the honour or the authority of the holy Roman Church.'

"The agreement being thus made, Miltitz appeared delighted. 'For a hundred years,' exclaimed he, 'no affair

has given the cardinals and Roman courtiers more anxiety than this. They would give ten thousand ducats sooner than consent to its longer continuance.' The chamberlain of the pope made a great show of feeling before Luther. Sometimes he expressed joy, at other times shed tears. This display of sensibility made little impression on the Reformer, but he refrained from showing what he thought of it. 'I looked as if I did not understand what was meant by these crocodile tears,' said he. Luther having accepted an invitation to supper from Miltitz, the host laid aside the stiffness attributed to his office, while Luther gave full scope to his natural gaiety. It was a joyous repast, and when the parting hour arrived, the legate took the heretical doctor in his arms and kissed him. 'A Judas kiss,' thought Luther; 'I pretended,' wrote he to Staupitz, 'not to comprehend all these Italian manners.' Was this then to be in truth the kiss of reconciliation between Rome and the dawning Reformation? Miltitz hoped so, for he had a nearer view than the courtiers of Rome of the fearful results which the Reformation might produce in regard to the papacy. If Luther and his opponents are silent, the dispute will be ended, thought he, and Rome by availing herself of favourable circumstances will regain all her ancient influence. It thus seemed that the debate was drawing to a close; Rome had stretched out her arms, and Luther had apparently thrown himself into them; but the Reformation was the work, not of man, but of God. The revival of Christendom was not to be arrested by the kisses of a pope's chamberlain.

"Miltitz, in fulfilment of the agreement which he had just concluded, proceeded to Leipsic where Tezel was residing. He immediately summoned Tezel before him, loaded him with reproaches, accused him of being the author of the whole mischief, and threatened him with the pope's displeasure. Miltitz also proved him to have squandered or stolen considerable sums. Tezel, stung by remorse, alarmed at the reproaches of his best friends, and dreading the anger of the pope, not long after died miserably, and as was supposed, of a broken heart.

"Luther, in fulfilment of his promises to Miltitz, on the

3rd of March, wrote a letter to the pope. In this letter he says:—‘Owing to the persecutions of my enemies, my writings have been circulated far and wide, and are too deeply engraven on men’s hearts to be effaced. A recantation would only add to the dishonour of the Church of Rome, and raise an universal cry of accusation against her. Most holy father, I declare before God and all his creatures, that I have never wished, and do not now wish, either by force or guile, to attack the authority of the Roman Church or of your holiness. I acknowledge there is nothing in heaven or on the earth which ought to be put above this Church, unless it be Jesus Christ the Lord of all.’ These words might seem strange and even reprehensible in the mouth of Luther, did we not reflect that the light did not break in upon him all at once, but by slow and progressive steps. They show, and this is very important, that the Reformation was not simply an opposition to the papacy. Its creating principle was a new life, a positive doctrine—‘Jesus Christ the Lord of all’—as Luther says in the conclusion of his letter.”

These words, which presented themselves to the historian as strange, will be quite understood by the Apocalyptic student, inasmuch as they are in strict accordance with what was indicated by the angel’s transition to the temple of God in heaven. The illustration of that transition by a change recorded by the historian in the character of Luther’s agency; the presentation of the rod of punishment to the church; and the exhortation to its members to combine, and to separate themselves from the enemies of their faith, being now about to be exhibited, strict attention is due to the character of the events narrated and to the terms of their narration, as they not only furnish a general comment on the prophecy, but, in many instances, so particular an illustration, as to create the suspicion, did we not know to the contrary, of their collection by design. Luther is now exhibited as apparently silenced. He has entered into a compact with his adversary by which he surrendered his liberty to preach or write, and by which the retirement of the angel from “standing with his right foot upon the sea, and his left

foot on the earth," is well and interestingly illustrated. The Reformer will soon be exhibited in his new character of representative of the church, by which the figurative position of the angel in the temple of God, the place of the church in heaven, will be equally well illustrated. In this new character, the Reformer would obviously retain *the spirit* of the angel, and therefore continue to be a fit illustrator of the former terms of the prophecy, as well as those now immediately referred to; especially as the development of the change denoted would naturally be a work of time, and the period of transition, consequently, be consistently marked by evidences of both characters conjointly operating. A temporary intermingling of the illustrations may be, therefore, accepted as affirming rather than weakening their illustrative force. The historian continues:—

“ It is probable that at an earlier period a letter from the monk of Wittemberg, positively refusing to retract, would not have been allowed by the pope to pass without animadversion. But Maximilian was dead, the topic of engrossing interest was the election of his successor, and amid the political intrigues, which then agitated the pontifical city, Luther's letter was overlooked.

“ The Reformer was employing his time to better purpose than his powerful antagonist. While Leo X., engrossed by his interests as a temporal prince, was straining every nerve to prevent a dreaded neighbour from reaching the throne, Luther was daily growing in knowledge and in faith. He studied the decretals of the popes, and made discoveries which greatly modified his views. Writing to Spalatin, he says, ‘I am reading the decretals of the popes, and let me say it in your ear, I know not whether the pope is Antichrist himself or only his apostle; to such a degree in these decretals is Christ outraged and crucified.’ ” “ *Write not* ” vibrates in his heart. “ It was not Luther that separated from Rome, but Rome that separated from Luther, and by so doing ” (mark the phrase) “ *rejected the ancient Catholic faith of which he was then the representative.* Nor was it Luther,” as the angel's impersonator, “ that deprived Rome of her power, and compelled her bishop to descend from an

usurped throne. The doctrines which he," as the representative of the church, "announced, the doctrine of the apostles, again divinely proclaimed throughout the church with great force and admirable purity, alone could prevail against a power by which the church had *for ages* been enslaved.

"Luther's declarations, published at the end of February, did not fully satisfy Miltitz and De Vio. These two vultures, after both missing their prey, had retired within the ancient walls of Trèves. There, seconded by the prince-archbishop, they hoped jointly to accomplish the object in which they had failed individually. The two nuncios were aware that nothing was to be expected from Frederick, now invested with supreme power in the empire. They saw that Luther persisted in his refusal of retractation. If the Reformer were once in Trèves, in a state subject to a prince of the Church, he would be dexterous indeed if he got away without giving full satisfaction to the sovereign pontiff. This scheme was immediately proceeded with. 'Luther,' said Miltitz to the elector-archbishop of Trèves, 'has accepted your grace as arbiter; call him therefore before you.' He accordingly wrote to the Elector of Saxony, and requested him to send Luther. De Vio, and afterwards Miltitz himself, also wrote. Now, thought they, is the moment to strike the decisive blow.

"The Reformer, seeing Miltitz and De Vio in concert, had some idea of the fate which awaited him, if he complied with their invitation. 'Everywhere,' says he, 'on all hands, and in all ways, they seek my life.' Besides, he had requested the pope to decide; but the pope, engrossed with crowns and intrigues, had given no answer. Luther thus wrote to Miltitz, 'How could I undertake the journey without an order from Rome, amid the troubles which shake the empire? How could I face so many dangers and subject myself to so much expense, I, who am the poorest of men?' Neither Frederick nor Luther felt alarmed. Things were changed. The Elector, understanding his new position, had no longer any fear of the pope, and far less of his servants. The elector of Trèves, a man of wisdom and moderation,

and a friend of Frederick, was willing to meet his views. He had no desire, moreover, to involve himself in the affair without being positively called on. He therefore agreed with the Elector of Saxony to defer the investigation till the next Diet. Two years elapsed before this Diet assembled at Worms.

“ While the hand of Providence successfully warded off all the dangers which threatened him, Luther was boldly advancing to a result, of which he was not himself aware. His reputation was extending, the cause of truth was gaining strength, and the number of the students at Wittemberg, among whom were the most distinguished young men in Germany, rapidly increased. But Germany was no longer the only country in which the voice of the Reformer was heard. In all countries, if we except Switzerland, and even France, where the gospel had been previously heard, the arrival of Luther’s writings forms the first page in the history of the Reformation.” Mark the historic correspondence with the Apocalyptic terms, “ And he set his right foot upon the sea, and his left foot on the earth ; and cried with a loud voice, as when a lion roareth.” D’Aubigné continues, “ At the moment when the Roman pontiff entertained hopes of suppressing the work in Germany, it began in France, the Netherlands, Italy, Spain, England and Switzerland ; and now, even should Rome hew down the original trunk, what would it avail ? The seeds are already diffused over every soil.

“ While the combat was only beginning beyond the limits of the empire, it seemed to Luther almost ceased within it. The partisans of the pope were quiet, and Tezel was unfit for service. Luther’s friends conjured him not to persist in the contest, and he had promised to comply. The theses were beginning to be forgotten. By this perfidious peace, the eloquent tongue of the Reformer was completely paralysed ; and the Reformation seemed to be arrested. ‘ But,’ says Luther afterwards, speaking of this period, ‘ men were imagining vain things, for the Lord had arisen to judge the nations.’ ‘ God,’ says he, in another place, ‘ does not lead, but urges and hurries me along. I am not my

own master. I would fain be at rest, but am precipitated into the midst of tumult and revolution.'

"The person who renewed the contest was Eck, the schoolman, Luther's old friend. He was sincerely attached to the papacy, but seems to have belonged to the class of men who value learning, and even theology and religion, merely as a means of gaining a name in the world. Luther was the opponent whom he had in view. He accordingly employed every means to bring him into the field; and with this view published thirteen theses, directed against the leading doctrines which had been espoused by the Reformer. The thirteenth was in these terms:—'We deny that the Roman church was not superior to other churches before the time of pope Sylvester; and we acknowledge at all times, that he who has occupied the see of St. Peter, and professed his faith, is the successor of St. Peter and the vicar of Jesus Christ.' Sylvester lived in the time of Constantine the Great, and hence Eck, in this thesis, denied that the primacy which Rome enjoyed was conferred on her by that emperor.

"Luther, whose consent to remain silent had not been given without reluctance, was strongly excited when he read these propositions. 'This man,' he says, 'makes his assault upon me. But God reigns, and knows what result he deigns to bring out of this tragedy. The question is not between Dr. Eck and me. God's purpose will be accomplished. Thanks to Eck, this affair, which has hitherto been mere sport, will at length become serious, *and give a fatal blow to the tyranny of Rome and the Roman pontiff.*' Rome herself broke the agreement. She invited the blows of the champion, and had herself to blame for *the punishment inflicted by his mighty arm.* The pontifical supremacy being once overthrown, the whole of the Roman platform falls to pieces. Hence the papacy was in imminent peril, and yet neither Miltitz nor Cajetan took any steps to prevent this new contest. Luther, who, by his long silence, had given an example of moderation, boldly met the challenge of his antagonist, whose theses he immediately opposed by counter theses. The last was in these terms:—'The primacy of the church of Rome is defended by means of miserable decretals

of the Roman pontiffs, composed within the last four hundred years; whereas this primacy is contradicted by the authentic history of eleven centuries, the declarations of Holy Scripture, and the canons of the council of Nice, which is the purest of all councils.'

"All Luther's friends did not share his courage, for up to this hour none had been able to withstand the sophistry of Dr. Eck. But what alarmed them most was the subject of dispute—the primacy of the pope! The courtiers of the Elector begin to tremble. Spalatin is full of anxiety. Frederick, too, feels uneasy. Luther alone feels no alarm. The faith with which he is animated enables him to strengthen his friends. 'I beg of you, my dear Spalatin, not to give yourself up to fear; you know well that if Christ was not with me, all that I have done up to this hour must have been my ruin. Was it not lately written from Italy that I had upset Rome, and that, not knowing how to appease the tumult, they were purposing to attack me, not according to the forms of justice, but by Roman *finesse*; that is, I presume, by poison, ambush, and assassination? I restrain myself, and, from love to the Elector and the university, keep back many things which I would employ against Babylon, were I elsewhere. O my poor Spalatin, it is impossible to speak of Scripture and of the church without irritating the beast. Never, therefore, hope to see me at rest, at least until I renounce theology. If this work be of God, it will not be terminated before all my friends have forsaken me, as Christ was forsaken by his disciples. Truth will endure single-handed, and triumph in virtue of its own prowess, not mine or yours, or any man's. If I fall, the world will not perish with me. But, wretch that I am, I fear I am not worthy to die in such a cause.' 'Rome,' he again wrote, about this time, 'Rome is burning with eagerness to destroy me, while I sit quiet and hold her in derision. I am informed that, in the field of Flora, at Rome, one Martin Luther had been burnt in effigy, after being loaded with execrations. I abide their fury. The whole world is in agitation, heaving to and fro. What will happen? God knows. For my part I foresee wars and

disasters. The Lord have mercy on us.' ” An account of the celebrated discussion of Leipsic between Eck and Luther is thus terminated by D'Aubigné :—“The discussion on the primacy of the pope has lasted during five days. On the 8th July, the doctrine of purgatory was discussed, and occupied two days. Luther was still a believer in the existence of purgatory; but he denied that the doctrine as held by the schoolmen and his opponent, was taught either in the scriptures or by the fathers. On the 11th July indulgences were discussed. ‘It was mere sport and burlesque,’ says Luther, ‘indulgences gave way at once, and Eck was almost entirely of my opinion.’ Eck himself said, ‘Had I not disputed with Doctor Martin on the primacy of the pope, I could almost agree with him.’ The discussion afterwards turned on repentance, absolution by the priests, and satisfactions. Eck, as usual, quoted the schoolmen, the Dominicans, and the canons of the pope. Luther closed the discussion with these words:—‘The reverend doctor flees before the Holy Scriptures, as the devil does before the cross. For my part, with all due deference to the fathers, I prefer the authority of Scripture, and recommend it to our judges.’

“The blows struck by the champions of the two systems had made a large wound in the papacy. No formal decision was given on the points discussed. The Leipsic discussion, however, was not destined to vanish into smoke. The words of Luther had penetrated the minds of his hearers. Several of those who had daily thronged the castle-hall were subdued by the truth, whose leading conquests were made amongst her most decided opponents. Even Poliander, the secretary, familiar friend and disciple of Eck, was gained to the Reformation, and began, in 1522, to preach the gospel at Leipsic. John Camerarius, professor of Hebrew, one of the keenest opponents of the Reformation, impressed by the words of the mighty teacher, began to examine the Holy Scriptures more thoroughly; and, shortly after throwing up his situation, came to Wittemberg to study at the feet of Luther. He was afterwards pastor at Frankfort and Dresden. The Leipsic discussion produced results still more important, inasmuch as the theologian of

the Reformation then received his call. Modest and silent, Melancthon had been present at the discussion almost without taking part in it. Till then his attention had been engrossed by literature, but the discussion gave him a new impulse and gained him over to theology. He received the evangelical truth with the simplicity of a child. From this moment the two friends walked side by side, contending for liberty and truth; the one with the energy of St. Paul, and the other with the meekness of St. John. Luther has admirably expressed the difference of their calling. 'I was born,' said he, 'to enter the field of battle, and contend with factions and demons. Hence my writings breathe war and tempest. I must root up the trunks, and remove the thorns and the brambles, and fill up the marshes and pools. I am the sturdy wood-cutter, who must clear the passage and level the ground; but master Philip advances calmly and softly; he digs and plants, sows and waters joyously, in accordance with the gifts which God has, with so liberal a hand, bestowed upon him.'

"If Melancthon was called to the work by the discussion of Leipsic, Luther felt his arm strengthened, and his courage still more inflamed by it. The mightiest result of this discussion was produced in Luther himself. 'Scholastic theology,' said he, 'sunk entirely in my estimation, under the triumphant presidency of Dr. Eck.' In regard to the Reformer, the veil which the school and the church had hung up in front of the sanctuary was rent from top to bottom. Constrained to engage in new inquiries, he arrived at unexpected discoveries. With equal astonishment and indignation he saw the evil in all its magnitude. While poring over the annals of the church, he discovered that the supremacy of Rome had no other origin than ambition on the one hand, and credulous ignorance on the other. The narrow point of view in which he had hitherto looked at the church was succeeded by one both clearer and wider. Instead of a visible head, seated on the banks of the Tiber, he adored as sole head of his people, that invisible and eternal Redeemer, who, according to his promise, is always, and in all parts of the world, in the midst of those who

believe in his name. The Latin church Luther no longer regarded as the universal church. The narrow barriers of Rome were thrown down; and he shouted for joy when he saw the glorious domain of Jesus Christ stretching far beyond them. Henceforth he felt that he could be a member of the church of Christ without belonging to the church of the pope. In particular, the writings of John Huss made a strong impression on him. To his great surprise, he discovered in them the doctrines of St. Paul and St. Augustine, the doctrine to which he himself had arrived, after so many struggles. ‘I believed,’ said he, ‘and without knowing it, taught all the doctrines of John Huss. So did Staupitz. In short, without suspecting it, we are all Hussites, as are also St. Paul and St. Augustine. I am confounded at it, and know not what to think. O what dreadful judgments have not men merited from God! Evangelical truth, when unfolded and published more than a century ago, was condemned, burned, and suppressed. *Woe! Woe to the earth.*’ Luther disengaged himself from the papacy, regarding it with decided aversion and holy indignation;” or, in Apocalyptic language, he came down from heaven. “All the witnesses, who in every age had risen up against Rome, came successively before him to testify against her, and unveil some of her abuses or errors. ‘O darkness,’ exclaimed he. He was not allowed to be silent as to these sad discoveries. The pride of his adversaries, their pretended triumph, and the efforts which they made to extinguish the light, fixed his decision. Luther has fixed this as the moment of his emancipation from the papal yoke” (his descent from heaven). “‘Learn by me,’ said he, ‘how difficult it is to disencumber oneself of errors which the whole world confirms by its example, and which, from long habit, have become a second nature. For seven years I had been reading, and, with great zeal, publicly expounding the Holy Scriptures, so that I had them almost entirely by heart. I had also all the rudiments of knowledge and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ—that is to say, I knew that we were not justified and saved by our works, but by faith in Christ; and I even maintained openly that the pope is not head of the Christian

church by divine authority; and yet I could not see the inference, viz., that certainly and necessarily the pope is of the devil. For whatever is not of God must, of necessity, be of the devil. I no longer vent my indignation against those who are still attached to the pope, since I myself, after reading the Holy Scriptures so carefully and for so many years, still clung to the pope with so much obstinacy.'

"Eck abandoned himself to all the intoxication of what he would fain have passed off as a victory. He kept tearing at Luther, and heaped accusation upon accusation against him. He also wrote to Frederick. Imploring the Elector to convene a provincial council, he exclaimed, 'Let us exterminate all this vermin, before they multiply out of measure.'; Luther was not the only person against whom he vented his rage. He had the imprudence to call Melancthon into the field. Melancthon replied. It is his first theological writing. He shows that the Holy Scriptures ought not to be explained according to the fathers, but the fathers according to the Holy Scriptures. 'How often,' says he, 'did not Jerome commit mistakes, how often Augustine, how often Ambrose; how often do they differ in opinion; how often retract their own errors? There is only one volume'' (mark the exhibition of the little book) " 'inspired by the spirit of heaven, pure and true throughout. Luther, it is said, does not follow some ambiguous expositions of the ancients, and why should he follow them? When he expounds the passage of St. Matthew, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church,' he agrees with Origen, who by himself alone is worth a host; with Augustine in his homily, and Ambrose in his sixth book on St. Luke, to say nothing of others. What, then, you will say, do the fathers contradict each other? Is it surprising that they should? I believe in the fathers, because I believe in the Holy Scriptures. The meaning of Scripture is one, and simple, like heavenly truth herself. We arrive at it by comparing different passages together. We deduce it from the thread and connection of the discourse. There is a philosophy enjoined us in regard to the Book of God, and it is to employ it as the touch-stone by which all the opinions and maxims of men must be tried.'

It was a long time since these great truths had been so elegantly expounded. The word of God was restored to its proper place, and the fathers to theirs. Melancthon furnished the answer to those who, like Dr. Eck, would envelop this subject in the mists of a remote antiquity.

“The weaker Eck was, the more noise he made. The monks and all the partisans of Rome re-echoing his clamour, Germany rang with invectives against Luther, who, however, remained passive. ‘The more I see my name covered with opprobrium, the prouder I feel,’ said he. ‘The truth, in other words, Jesus Christ, must increase, but I must decrease. The voice of the bridegroom and the bride delights me more than all this clamour dismays me. Men are not the authors of my sufferings, and I have no hatred against them. It is Satan, the prince of evil, who would terrify me. But he who is in us is greater than he who is in the world. The judgment of our contemporaries is bad, that of posterity will be better.’

“If the Leipsic discussion multiplied Luther’s enemies in Germany, it also increased the number of his friends abroad; ‘What Huss was formerly in Bohemia, you, O Martin, are now in Saxony,’ wrote the brothers of Bohemia to him; ‘wherefore pray, and be strong in the Lord.’ While new friends and new enemies thus appeared, old friends seemed to draw off from Luther. Staupitz, who had been the means of bringing the Reformer out of the obscurity of the cloister of Erfurt, began to show him some degree of coolness. Luther was rising too high for Staupitz to follow him. ‘You abandon me,’ wrote Luther to him; ‘the whole day I have been exceedingly grieved on your account, like a child just weaned and weeping for its mother.’ Far from drawing back, Luther uniformly continued to advance, and at this time struck one of his severest blows at error, by publishing his first commentary on the epistle to the Galatians. It is true, the second commentary was superior to the first; but still the first contained a forcible exposition of the doctrine of justification by faith. Every expression of the new apostle was full of life, and God employed him to imbue the hearts of the people with divine

knowledge. 'Christ gave himself for our sins,' said Luther to his contemporaries; 'it was not silver or gold that he gave for us, nor was it a man or angels. He gave himself, himself out of whom there is no true greatness; and this incomparable treasure he gave for our sins. If thou lovest him not who, in paying for all thy sins, has annihilated death, and secured for thee a Father full of love in heaven; if thou lovest him not, thy heart has not listened to the things which he has done; thou hast not believed them, for faith works by love.' 'This epistle,' says he, in speaking of the epistle to the Galatians, 'is my epistle—I am married to it.'

"His opponents caused him to proceed at a quicker pace than he would otherwise have done. At this time, Eck instigated the Franciscans of Juterboch to make a new attack upon him, and Luther in his reply, not satisfied with repeating what he had already taught, attacked errors which he had recently discovered. 'I would fain know,' he says, 'in what part of Scripture the power of canonising saints has been given to the popes; and also what the necessity, or even the utility, is of canonising them?' These new attacks of Luther remained unanswered.

"The sacrament of the Lord's Supper began at this time to engage Luther's attention. He looked for it in the mass, but in vain. Shortly after his return from Leipsic, he mounted the pulpit. Let us mark his words, for they are the first which he pronounced on a subject which afterwards divided the Reformation into two parties. 'In the holy sacrament of the altar,' says he, 'there are three things which it is necessary to know; the sign, which must be external, visible, and under a corporal form; the thing signified, which is internal, spiritual, and within the mind; and faith, which avails itself of both.' Had the definitions not been pushed further, unity would not have been destroyed. Luther continues, 'It were good that the church should, by a general council, decree that both kinds shall be distributed to all the faithful; not, however, on the ground that one kind is insufficient, for faith by itself would be sufficient.' These bold words pleased his audience, though some were astonished and offended, and exclaimed, 'This is

false and scandalous.' But Luther not deeming it enough to expound the truth, attacks one of the most fundamental errors of Rome. The Roman Church pretends that the sacrament operates by itself, independently of the disposition of him who receives it. Luther attacks this doctrine, and maintains its opposite, viz.:—that faith and a right disposition of heart are indispensable. The discourse having been published in December, a general cry of heresy was raised.—'It is just the doctrine of Prague unadulterated,' was the exclamation at the Court of Dresden, where the sermon arrived during the Christmas festivals. 'It is written, moreover, in German, in order to make it accessible to the common people.' The devotion of the prince was troubled, and on the third day of the festival he wrote to his cousin Frederick. 'Since the publication of this discourse, the number of persons who receive the sacrament in two kinds has received an increase of 6,000. Your Luther, from being a professor of Wittemberg, is on the eve of becoming a bishop of Prague, and an arch-heretic.'

“The letter of duke George did not prejudice the Elector against Luther, for a few days after he invited him to a splendid entertainment which he gave to the Spanish ambassador, and at which Luther valiantly combated the minister of Charles. The Elector's chaplain had, by his master's order, requested Luther to use moderation in defending his cause. 'Excessive folly displeases man,' replied Luther to Spalatin, 'but excessive wisdom displeases God. The gospel cannot be defended without tumult and scandal. The word of God is sword, war, ruin, scandal, destruction, poison, and hence, as Amos expresses it, it presents itself like a bear in the path, and a lioness in the forest. I ask nothing, I demand nothing. There is one greater than I who asks and demands. Whether he stands or falls, I am neither gainer nor loser.'

“It was obvious that faith and courage were about to become more necessary to Luther than ever. Eck was forming projects of revenge. Inflamed with rage, and thirsting for vengeance, Eck set out for Italy in order to forge at Rome, near the papal Capitol, thunders mightier

than the frail scholastic arms which had given way in his hands. Luther was aware of all the dangers to which the journey of his antagonist would expose him—but he feared not. Spalatin, alarmed, urged him to make proposals of peace. ‘No,’ replied Luther, ‘so long as he clamours, I cannot decline the contest. I commit the whole affair to God, and leave my bark to the winds and waves. It is the battle of the Lord. How can it be imagined that Christ will advance his cause by peace? Did he not combat even unto death, and have not all the martyrs since done the same?’ Such was the position of the two combatants of Leipsic at the commencement of the year 1520. The one was stirring up the whole papacy to strike a blow at his rival, who, on his part, waited for war as calmly as if he had been waiting for peace. The year on which we are entering will see the bursting of the storm. A new character was going to appear on the stage. The emperor Maximilian was dead, and the electors had met at Frankfort to give him a successor.

“ In the circumstances in which Christendom was placed, this election was of vast importance. At the assembly at Frankfort, three kings aspired to the crown of the Cæsars. Charles, grandson of the last emperor, not contented with the sceptres of Spain, Naples, and Sicily, which he already grasped in his hand, aspired to the imperial dignity. He saw in it the pinnacle of all earthly grandeur, and a means of acquiring a magic influence over the spirit of the nations. Francis I. was the second of the competitors, and Henry VIII. the third. The electors were not disposed to favour either. ‘Choose rather some one from amongst yourselves,’ was the pope’s message to them. The elector of Trèves proposed Frederick of Saxony, and the imperial crown was laid at the feet of Luther’s friend. The triumph of the Reformation seemed on the eve of being secured. The Elector of Saxony declined. ‘To save Germany,’ said he, ‘an emperor more powerful than I is requisite.’ The legate of Rome, seeing that the choice would fall upon Charles, intimated that the pope withdrew his objections; and on the 28th June, the grandson of Maximilian was elected. Charles

left Spain in May, 1520, and was crowned on the 22nd of October, at Aix-la-Chapelle.

“ Luther had foreseen that the cause of the Reformation would soon be brought before the new emperor; and when Charles was still at Madrid, addressed a letter to him, in which he said, ‘If the cause which I defend is worthy of being presented before the heavenly Majesty, it cannot be unworthy of engaging the attention of a prince of this world. O Charles! prince of the kings of the earth, I cast myself as a suppliant at the feet of your most serene majesty, and beseech you to deign to take under the shadow of your wings, *not me, but the very cause of eternal truth*, for the defence of which God has entrusted you with the sword.’ The young king of Spain threw aside this odd letter from a German monk, and returned no answer.

“ While Luther was turning in vain towards Madrid, the storm seemed gathering around him. Fanaticism was rekindled in Germany. Hochstraten had extracted certain theses from Luther’s writings, and obtained their condemnation by the universities of Cologne and Louvain. That of Erfurt was on the eve of following their example. But the doctor wrote Lange in terms so energetic, that the theologians of Erfurt took fright and said nothing. More than this, the priests of Misnia said openly that there would be no sin in killing Luther. ‘The time is come,’ said Luther, when men will think they do Jesus Christ service by putting us to death.’ The murderous language of the priests did not fail in its effect. About the same time, Terra-Longa wrote to the Elector, ‘Let not Luther find an asylum in the states of your highness, but, repulsed by all, let him be stoned to death in the face of heaven. This would please me more than a gift of ten thousand crowns.’

“ But the sound of the gathering storm was heard especially in the direction of Rome. The representative of the Elector of Saxony at Rome, writing to his master, said, ‘I am not listened to, because of the protection you give to Luther.’ Sage Frederick ordered his envoy to hint to the pope that, far from defending Luther, he had always left him to defend himself; that he had moreover told him to

quit Saxony and the university; that the doctor had declared his readiness to obey, and would not now be in the electoral states, had not the legate, Charles de Miltitz, begged the prince to keep him near himself, from a fear that in other countries he would act with still less restraint than in Saxony. 'Germany,' continues he, in his letter, 'now possesses a great number of learned men distinguished for scholarship and science; the laity themselves begin to cultivate their understanding, and to love the Holy Scriptures. Hence, there is great reason to fear that, if the equitable proposals of Doctor Luther are not accepted, peace will never be re-established. The doctrine of Luther has struck its roots deep in many hearts. If, instead of refuting it by passages from the Bible, an attempt is made to crush him *by the thunders of ecclesiastical power*, great scandal will be given, and pernicious and dreadful outbreaks will ensue.'

"The Elector, having full confidence in Luther, caused his envoy's letter to be communicated to him, and also another letter from cardinal St. George. The Reformer was moved on reading them. He at once saw all the dangers with which he was surrounded; but it was in such moments that his faith displayed its full power. 'Be silent!' said he, 'I am disposed to be so, if I am allowed—that is to say, if others are silent. If any one envies my situation, he is welcome to it. If any one is anxious to destroy my writings, let him burn them. I am ready to remain quiet, provided gospel truth is not compelled to be quiet also. I ask not a cardinal's hat; I ask neither gold, nor aught that Rome esteems. There is nothing which I will not concede, provided Christians are not excluded from the way of salvation. All their threatenings do not terrify—all their promises cannot seduce me.' Animated by these sentiments, Luther soon resumed his warlike temperament, preferring the Christian combat to the calmness of solitude. One night was sufficient to revive his desire of overthrowing Rome. 'My part is taken,' wrote he, next day, 'I despise the fury of Rome, and I despise her favour. No more reconciliation, nor more communication with her for ever. Let her condemn and burn my writings! I, in my turn, will condemn and

publicly burn the pontifical law, the nest of all heresies. The moderation which I have shown up to this hour has been useless, and I have done with it.' ” Mark the change. Luther, previously the champion of the gospel in particular, becomes the champion of the church, and declares war against her enemies. The church soon hears his exhortation. May we not also here claim an interesting historic comment on the terms “There should be time no longer ?” D'Aubigné continues :—

“His friends were far from feeling equally tranquil. Great alarm prevailed at Wittemberg. ‘We are waiting in extreme anxiety,’ said Melancthon; ‘I would sooner die than be separated from Luther. Unless God comes to our assistance, we perish.’ Writing a month later, he says, ‘Our Luther still lives, and God grant he long may; for the Roman sycophants are using every means to destroy him. Pray for the life of him who is sole-vindicator of sound theology.’ These prayers were not in vain. The warnings which the Elector had given Rome, through his envoy, were not without foundation. The word of Luther had been everywhere heard, in cottages and convents, at the firesides of the citizens, in the castles of nobles, in academies, and in the palaces of kings. A great multitude had found light in the writings of the humble doctor; and hence, in all quarters, there were men ready to protect him. The sword which was to attack him was on the anvil of the Vatican; but there were heroes in Germany who would interpose their bodies as his buckler. At the moment when the bishops were waxing wroth, when princes were silent, when the people were awaiting the result, *and when the thunder was already grumbling on the seven hills*, God raised up the German nobility, and placed them as a rampart around his servant. At this time Sylvester of Schaumburg, one of the most powerful nobles of Franconia, sent his son to Wittemberg with a letter to the Reformer, in which he said, ‘Your life is exposed to danger. If the support of electors, princes, or magistrates fails you, I beg you to beware of going into Bohemia, where of old, very learned men had much to suffer; come rather to me; God willing, I shall

soon have collected a hundred gentlemen, and with their help will be able to keep you free from harm.' Francis of Seckingen, the hero of his age, wrote to him, 'My person, my property, and services, all that I possess,' says he, in his letter, 'is at your disposal.' Ulric von Hütten, the poet and valiant knight of the sixteenth century, ceased not to speak in commendation of Luther. Hütten wrote to the Reformer, 'We must have swords, bows, javelins, and bullets to destroy the fury of the devil.' Luther, on receiving these letters, exclaimed, 'I have no wish that men should have recourse to arms and carnage, in order to defend the gospel. It was by the word the world was overcome, by the word the church has been saved, and by the word will she be re-established. I wish to lean on none but Christ, though I despise not his offers,' referring to those from Schaumburg.

"Thus, on the one hand, Luther's enemies assail him, and on the other, his friends rise up to defend him. 'My bark,' says he, 'floats here and there at the pleasure of the winds; hope and fear reign by turns, but what matters it? The Lord reigns, and so visibly as to be almost palpable.' Luther saw that he was no longer alone, and the thought inspired him with new courage. Now that he has other defenders prepared to brave the fury of Rome, he will no longer be kept back by the fear of compromising the Elector. He becomes more free, and, if possible, more decided. This is an important period in the development of Luther's mind. Writing to the Elector's chaplain, he says, 'Rome must be made aware, that though she should succeed, by her menaces, in exiling me from Wittemberg, she will only damage her cause. Those who are ready to defend me against *the thunders of the papacy* are to be found, not in Bohemia, but in the heart of Germany. If I have not yet done to my enemies all that I am preparing for them, they must ascribe it neither to my moderation nor to their tyranny, but to my fear of compromising the name of the Elector, and the prosperity of the university of Wittemberg. Now, that I have no longer any such fears, I will rush with new impetuosity on Rome and her courtiers.'

“Still Luther’s hope was not placed on the great. He had often been urged to dedicate a book to duke John, the Elector’s brother, but had never done it. ‘I fear,’ he had said, ‘that the suggestion comes from himself. The Holy Scriptures must be subservient only to the glory of God’s name.’ Luther afterwards laid aside his suspicions, and dedicated his discourse on good works to duke John, in which he gives a forcible exposition of the doctrine of justification by faith, a mighty doctrine, whose power he rates far higher than the sword of Hütten, the army of Seckingen, or the protection of dukes or electors. ‘The first, the noblest, the sublimest of all works,’ says he, ‘is faith in Jesus Christ. From this work all other works should proceed; they are all the vassals of faith, and from it alone derive their efficacy. A christian, who has faith in God, acts, at all times, with freedom and gladness; whereas, the man, who is not at one with God, is full of cares, and is detained in thralldom; he anxiously asks how many works he ought to do, he runs up and down interrogating this man and that man, and, nowhere finding any peace, does everything with dissatisfaction and fear. Hence, I have always extolled faith. But it is otherwise in the world; there the essential point is to have many works, works great and high, and of all dimensions, while it is a matter of indifference whether or not faith animates them. Thus men build their peace, not on the good pleasure of God, but on their own merits, that is to say, on the sand. Faith must be before works, in order that works themselves may exist. Where then, you will ask, is this faith found, and how is it received? This, indeed, is the most important of all questions. Faith comes solely from Jesus Christ, who is promised, and given gratuitously. O man! represent Christ to thyself, and consider how in him God manifests his mercy to thee without being anticipated by any merit on thy part. In this image of his grace receive the faith and assurance that all thy sins are forgiven thee. Works cannot produce it. It flows from the blood, the wounds, and the death of Christ, whence it wells up in the heart. Christ is the rock out of which come milk and honey.’” Thus Luther presents the book of life

to the church. "Melancthon, in sending a copy of this discourse to a friend, thus expressed himself, 'Of all Greek and Latin authors, none has come nearer the spirit of St. Paul than Luther.'

"A vague and distant rumour of Eck's intrigues and success at Rome awakened a warlike spirit in the Reformer, who, amid all his turmoil, had calmly studied the origin, progress, and usurpations of the papacy. His discoveries having filled him with surprise, he no longer hesitated to communicate them and strike the blow which was destined, like *the rod* of Moses of old, to awaken a whole nation out of a lethargy, the result of long bondage. Even before Rome had time to publish her formidable bull, he published his declaration of war. 'The time of silence,' exclaims he, 'is past, the time for speaking has arrived. *The mysteries of Antichrist must at length be unveiled.*'" The interest attached to this reference by the historian to the rod of Moses, just at the commencement of Luther's famous exhortation to the church, must not be unobserved. Strict attention must be also paid to the terms of the exhortation, as strikingly illustrative of those addressed to John by the angel in the vision—"And there was given me a reed like unto a rod, and the angel stood, saying, Rise and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein, but the court, which is without the temple, leave out, for it is given unto the Gentiles, and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months." An illustration of the terms of the angel's oath, taken in their general sense, may also be observed.

"On the 24th June, 1520, Luther published his famous '*Appeal to his Imperial Majesty, and the Christian Nobility of Germany, on the Reformation of Christianity.*' This work was the signal of the attack which was at once to complete the rupture and decide the victory. 'It is not from presumption,' says he, at the outset of this treatise, 'that I, *who am only one of the people*, undertake to address your lordships. The misery and oppression endured at this moment by all the states of Christendom, and more especially by Germany, wring from me a cry of distress. I must call for aid; I

must see whether God will not give his spirit to some one of our countrymen, and stretch out a hand to our unhappy nation. God has given us a young and generous prince (the emperor Charles V:) and thus filled our hearts with high hopes. But we, too, on our part, must do all we can. Now, the first thing necessary is, not to confide in our own great strength, nor our own high wisdom. When any work, otherwise good, is begun in self-confidence, God casts it down and destroys it. In this war we have to combat the powers of hell, and our mode of conducting it must be to expect nothing from the strength of human weapons—to trust humbly in the Lord, and look still more to the distress of Christendom than to the crimes of the wicked. The greater the power, the greater the danger, when things are not done in the fear of the Lord. The Romans, to guard against every species of reformation, have surrounded themselves with three walls. When attacked by the temporal power, they denied its jurisdiction over them, and maintained the superiority of the spiritual power. When tested by Scripture, they replied that none could interpret it but the pope. When threatened with a council, they again replied that none but the pope could convene it. They have thus carried off from us *three rods destined to chastise them*, and abandoned themselves to all sorts of wickedness. But now may God be our help, and give us one of the trumpets which threw down the walls of Jericho. Let us blow down the walls of paper and straw which the Romans have built around them, and *lift up the rods which punish the wicked*, by bringing the wiles of the devil to the light of day.' Luther next commences the attack, and shakes to the foundation that papal monarchy which had *for ages* united the nations of the west into one body under the sceptre of the Roman bishop. 'There is no sacerdotal caste in Christianity,' he then vigorously expounds. After throwing down the other two walls in the same way, Luther takes a review of all the abuses of Rome. With an eloquence of a truly popular description, he exposes evils which had for ages been notorious. Never had a nobler remonstrance been heard. *The assembly which Luther addresses is the church; the power whose*

abuses he attacks is that papacy which had for ages been the oppressor of all nations ; and the reformation for which he calls aloud is destined to exercise its powerful influence on Christendom, all over the world and so long as man shall exist upon it. Luther begins with the pope ; then he proceeds to depict the consequences of the papal domination ; ‘Italy,’ says he, ‘is almost a desert—the convents are destroyed, the bishoprics devoured, the towns in decay, the inhabitants corrupted, worship dying out, and preaching abolished. Why ? Because all the revenues of the churches go to Rome. Never would the Turk himself have so ruined Italy.’ Luther next turns to his countrymen. ‘And now,’ says he, ‘that they have thus sucked the blood of their own country, they come into Germany. They begin gently, but let us be on our guard. Germany will soon become like Italy. We have already some cardinals. Their thought is—before the rustic Germans comprehend our design, they will have neither bishopric, nor convent, nor benefice, nor penny, nor farthing. Antichrist must possess the treasure of the earth. Thirty or forty cardinals will be elected in a single day ; and then the pope will say “I am the vicar of Christ, and the pastor of his flocks. Let the Germans be resigned.”’ Luther then exposes the devices of Rome to obtain money, and secure the revenues of Germany. He then proposes remedies for all these evils, *and energetically arouses the German nobility to put an end to Roman depredation.* He next comes to the reform of the pope himself. He strips the sovereign pontiff of his spoils. ‘Let the pope renounce every species of title to the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. He has no more right to it than I have. His possession of Bologna, Imola, Ravenna, Romagna, Marche d’Ancona, etc., is unjust and contrary to the commands of Jesus Christ. “No man,” says St. Paul, “who goeth a warfare, entangleth himself with the affairs of this life.” And the pope, who pretends to take the lead in the war of the gospel, entangles himself more with the affairs of this life than any emperor or king. He must be disencumbered of all this toil. The emperor should put a bible and a prayer book into the hands of the pope, that the pope may leave kings to

govern, and devote himself to preaching and prayer.' Luther is as averse to the pope's ecclesiastical power in Germany, as to his temporal power in Italy. '*The first thing necessary is to banish from all the countries of Germany the legates of the pope, and the pretended blessings which they sell us at the weight of gold, and which are their imposture.* They take our money for legalising ill-gotten gain, for loosing oaths, and teaching us to break faith, to sin, and to go direct to hell. Hearest thou, O pope! not pope most holy, but pope most sinful? *May God, from his place in heaven, cast down thy throne into the infernal abyss!*'"—Mark the illustrative force of this emphatic announcement.

"The Christian tribune pursues his course. After citing the pope to his bar, he cites all the abuses in the train of the papacy, and endeavours to sweep away from the church all the rubbish by which it is encumbered. He begins with the monks. 'And now I come to a lazy band which promises much, but performs little. Be not angry, dear Sirs, my intention is good; what I have to say is a truth at once *sweet and bitter*, viz.:—that it is no longer necessary to build cloisters for mendicant monks; to wander vagabond over the country never has done and never will do good.' The marriage of ecclesiastics comes next in course. It is the first occasion on which Luther speaks of it. 'Into what a state have the clergy fallen, and how many priests are burdened with women and children and remorse, while no one comes to their assistance? Let the pope and bishops run their course, and let those who will, go to perdition; all very well, but I am resolved to unburden my conscience and open my mouth freely, however pope, bishops, and others may be offended. I say, then, that according to the institution of Jesus Christ and the apostles, every town ought to have a pastor or bishop, and that this pastor may have a wife, as St. Paul writes to Timothy: "Let the bishop be the husband of one wife," and as is still practised in the Greek Church. But the devil has persuaded the pope, as St. Paul tells Timothy (1 Tim. iv. 1—3), to forbid the clergy to marry. And hence, evils so numerous, that it is impossible to give them in detail. What is to be done? How

are we to save the many pastors who are blameworthy only in this, that they live with a female, to whom they wish with all their heart to be lawfully united? Ah! let them save their conscience; let them take this woman in lawful wedlock, and live decently with her, not troubling themselves, whether it pleases or displeases the pope. The salvation of your soul is of greater moment than arbitrary and tyrannical laws, laws not imposed by the Lord. Let feast-days be abolished, and let Sunday only be kept, or if it be deemed proper to keep the Christian festivals, let them be celebrated in the morning, and let the remainder of the day be a working-day as usual. For by the ordinary mode of spending them in drinking and gaming and committing all sorts of sins, or in mere idleness, God is offended on festivals much more than on other days.' He afterwards attacks the dedication of churches, and after them fasts and fraternities. The churches he describes as mere taverns. He desires not only to suppress abuses, but also to put an end to schisms. He proposes excellent methods of conciliation, and adds:— 'In this way must heretics be refuted by Scripture, as the ancient fathers did, and not subdued by fire. On a contrary system, executioners would be the most learned of all doctors. I have now done what is in my power. If the pope or his people oppose it, they will have to give an account. The pope should be ready to renounce the pope-dom, and all his wealth, and all his honours, if he could thereby save a single soul. But he would see the universe go to destruction sooner than yield a hair-breadth of his usurped power. I am clear of these things.' Luther comes next to universities and schools. He says, 'I much fear the universities will become wide gates to hell, if due care is not taken to explain the Holy Scriptures, and engrave it on the hearts of the students.' Towards the end of his address he returns to the empire and the emperor. 'The pope has possessed himself of Rome, and bound the emperor by oath never to reside in it, and the consequence is that the emperor is the emperor of Rome, without having Rome. We have the name, the pope has the country and its cities. The pope eats the fruit, and we amuse ourselves with the

husk. In this way our pride and simplicity has always been abused by the pride and tyranny of the Romans.' Luther concludes his intrepid address ; 'I presume, however, that I have struck too high a note ; proposed many things that will appear impossible, and been somewhat too severe on the many errors which I have attacked. But what can I do ? Better that the world be offended with me than God. The utmost which it can take from me is life. I have often offered to make peace with my opponents, but, through their instrumentality, God has always obliged me to speak out against them. I have still a chant upon them in reserve, and if they have an itching ear, I will sing it to them at full pitch. Rome ! do ye understand me ? If my cause is just, it must be condemned on the earth, and justified only by Christ in heaven. Therefore, let pope, bishops, priests, monks, doctors, come forward, display all their zeal, and give full vent to their fury. Assuredly they are just the people who ought to persecute the truth, as in all ages they have persecuted it.' "

Thus are the members of the true church exhorted to rise and constitute themselves into a visible body of worshippers, distinct from those by whom they are surrounded ; thus is the tyranny of the then visible body exposed, and the church called upon to recognise in its system, that which, not only then, but which had for ages past, oppressed the truth. Thus is the church also called upon to reject its professors from their communion. The correspondence of history with the prophecy is therefore perfect. The spirit of the latter will continue to receive illustration as we proceed, as also the struggles of the outer court worshippers to maintain their supremacy and tyranny over those of the inner court—the holy city—despite the power of the rod given to the church wherewith to punish them ; nor must we pass on without noticing the emphatic declaration, by the prophecy being uttered in the sanctuary, that the papacy, now exposed, is cast out and condemned in heaven as well as earth. D'Aubigné continues his history with the effect produced by Luther's appeal : — "This exhortation," he says, "being addressed to the German nobility, was soon in

the hands of all those for whom it was intended. It spread over Germany with inconceivable rapidity. Luther's friends trembled, while Staupitz, and those who wished to follow gentle methods, thought the blow too severe. 'In our days,' replied Luther, 'whatever is treated calmly falls into oblivion, and nobody cares for it.' At the same time he displayed extraordinary simplicity and humility. 'I know not,' writes he, 'what to say of myself; perhaps I am the precursor of Philip (Melancthon). Like Elias, I am preparing the way for him, in spirit and in power, that he may one day trouble Israel, and the house of Ahab.' But there was no occasion to wait for any other than he who had appeared, the house of Ahab was already shaken. The address to the German nobility was published on the 26th June, 1520, and in a short time 4,000 copies were sold, a number at that period unprecedented. The astonishment was universal, and the whole people were in commotion. The vigour, spirit, perspicuity, and noble boldness by which it was pervaded, made it truly a work for the people, who felt that one who spoke to them in such terms really loved them. The confused views which many wise men entertained were enlightened. All became aware of the usurpations of Rome. At Wittemberg, no man had any doubt whatever that the pope was Antichrist. Even the Elector's court, with all its timidity and circumspection, did not disapprove of the Reformer, but only awaited the issue. The nobility and the people did not even wait. The nation was awakened, and, *at the voice of Luther*, adopted his cause, and rallied around his standard. Nothing could have been more advantageous to the Reformer than this publication. In palaces, in castles, in the dwellings of the citizens, and even in cottages, all are now prepared, and made proof, as it were, against the sentence of condemnation which is about to fall upon the prophet of the people. All Germany is on fire, and the bull, come when it may, never will extinguish the conflagration.

"At Rome everything necessary for the condemnation of the defender of the liberty of the church was prepared. Men had long lived there in arrogant security. At last,

through the clamour of Dr. Eck, who had come from Leipsic to invoke the power of the Vatican, the pope, the cardinals, the monks, all Rome awoke and bestirred themselves to save the papacy. Rome, in fact, was obliged to adopt the severest measures. The gauntlet had been thrown down, and the combat was destined to be mortal. Rome deemed herself appointed of God to govern the church, and no wonder, therefore, that she was prepared to adopt the most decisive measures. And yet, at the outset, she did show hesitation. Several cardinals and the pope himself were averse to severe proceedings. Leo saw that the violent methods already resorted to had only increased the evil. 'Is it impossible to gain this Saxon monk?' asked the politicians of Rome; 'Would all the power of the church and all the wiles of Italy be ineffectual for this purpose? Negotiation must still be attempted.'

"Eck accordingly encountered formidable obstacles. He neglected nothing to prevent what he termed impious concessions. Going up and down Rome, he gave vent to his rage, and cried for vengeance. The fanatical faction of the monks having immediately leagued with him, he felt strong in this alliance, and proceeded with new courage to importune the pope and the cardinals. 'Eck is calling to the depth of depths against me,' said Luther, 'and setting on fire the forests of Lebanon.' The fanatics in the councils of the papacy vanquished the politicians. Leo gave way, and Luther's condemnation was resolved. No one exerted himself so much in seconding Dr. Eck as the master of the sacred palace De Prierio, who had just published a work, in which he maintained, that not only to the pope appertained the infallible decision of all debatable points, but also that papal ascendancy was the fifth monarchy of Daniel, and the only true monarchy; that the pope was the prince of all ecclesiastical, and the father of all secular, princes, the chief of the world, and in substance the world itself. In another writing he affirmed that the pope is as much superior to the emperor as gold is to lead; that the pope can appoint and depose emperors and electors, establish and annul positive rights, and that the emperor, with all the

laws and all the nations of Christendom, cannot decide the smallest matter contrary to the pope's will.

“Such was the voice which came forth from the palace of the sovereign pontiff, such the monstrous fiction which, in union with scholastic dogmas, aimed at suppressing reviving truth. Had this fiction not been unmasked, as it has been, and that even by learned members of the Catholic church, there would have been neither true history nor true religion. The papacy is not only a lie with regard to the Bible, but also in regard to the annals of nations. And hence the Reformation, by destroying its fascinating power, has emancipated not only the church, but also kings and nations.

“Thus God sent a spirit of delusion on the doctors of Rome. The separation between truth and error must now be accomplished, and it is to error that the task is assigned. Luther, however great his courage was, would probably have been silent, had Rome been so, and made some show of concession. But God did not leave the Reformation to depend on a weak human heart. Luther was under the guidance of a clearer intellect than his own. The pope was the instrument in the hand of Providence to sever every tie between the past and the future, and launch the Reformer on a new, unknown, and to him uncertain, career. *The papal bull was a writing of divorce sent from Rome to the pure church of Jesus Christ, as personified in him who was then her humble but faithful representative.* And the church accepted the writing on the understanding that she was thenceforth to depend on none but her heavenly Head.” In other words, they rejected it, or in the language of the Apocalypse, “sealed it up,” as emanating from an impure source, and opposed to God's truth; neither must we omit to observe Luther's designation, “the humble but faithful representative of the pure church of Jesus Christ,” as further historic testimony to the change of character denoted in the prophecy.

“After Luther's condemnation,” D'Aubigné continues, “was at last resolved upon, new difficulties arose in the Consistory. The theologians wished to proceed at once to

fulmination, whereas the lawyers were for beginning with a citation. But these scruples did not suit the theologians, who, hurried on by passion, thought only of proceeding with dispatch. It was at length agreed that the doctrine of Luther should be immediately condemned, and that a period of sixty days should be granted to him and his adherents; after which, provided they did not retract, they should all be, *ipso facto*, excommunicated. De Vio was at the meeting. A last conference, which Eck attended, was held in the presence of the pope himself, in his villa at Malliano. On the 15th of June, the sacred college resolved on condemnation, and approved of the famous bull. ‘Arise, O Lord!’ said the Roman pontiff, speaking at this solemn moment as vicar of God and head of the church, ‘Arise, and be judge in thy own cause. Remember the insults daily offered to thee by infatuated men. Arise, O Peter, remember thy holy Roman Church, the mother of all churches, and the mistress of the faith! Arise, O Paul, for here is a new Porphyry, who is attacking thy doctrines and the holy popes our predecessors! Arise, in fine, assembly of all the saints, holy Church of God, and intercede with the Almighty.’ The pope afterwards quotes as pernicious, scandalous, and poisonous, forty-one propositions in which Luther had expounded the holy doctrine of the gospel. Among these propositions are the following:—‘To deny that sin remains in an infant after baptism, is to trample St. Paul and our Lord Jesus Christ under foot.’ ‘A new life is the best and noblest penance.’ ‘To burn heretics is contrary to the will of the Holy Spirit.’

“‘The moment this bull is published,’ continued the pope, ‘it will be the duty of the bishops to make careful search for the writings of Martin Luther, which contain these errors, and to burn them publicly and solemnly in presence of the clergy and laity. In regard to Martin himself, good God! what have we not done? Imitating the goodness of the Almighty, we are ready, even yet, to receive him into the bosom of the church, and we give him sixty days to transmit his retractation to us in writing sealed by two prelates; or, what will be more agreeable to us, to come to Rome in

person, that no doubt may be entertained as to his submission. Meanwhile, and from this moment he must cease to preach, teach, or write, and must deliver his works to the flames. If, in the space of sixty days, he do not retract, we, by these presents, condemn him and his adherents as public and absolute heretics.' The pope afterwards pronounces a multiplicity of excommunications, maledictions, and interdicts against Luther and all his adherents, with injunctions to seize their persons and send them to Rome. It is easy to conjecture what the fate of these noble professors of the gospel would have been in the dungeons of the papacy." It will be observed that Luther is here enjoined "to transmit his retractation to us in writing sealed by two prelates;" his having failed to comply, exhibits him as again animated by the injunction, "Write not the things which the seven thunders uttered." The historian continues:—

"The bull was published, and *for ages* the mouth of Rome had never pronounced a sentence of condemnation without following it up with a death-blow. This murderous message was about to issue from the seven hills, and attack the Saxon monk in his cloister. The moment was well chosen. There were good grounds for supposing that the new emperor, who, for many reasons, was anxious to obtain the friendship of the pope, would hasten to merit it by the sacrifice of an obscure monk. Leo X., the cardinals, and all Rome were exulting in the belief that their enemy was already in their power. Rome was brandishing the sword with which she had resolved to attack the gospel. Her threatened sentence, however, so far from dispiriting the Reformer, increased his courage. The blows of this arrogant power gave him little concern. He will himself give more formidable blows, and thereby neutralise those of his adversaries. Whilst Transalpine consistories are fulminating their anathemas against him, he will, with the sword of the gospel, pierce to the very heart of the Italian states.

"Luther having been informed, by letters from Venice, of the favourable reception which had been given to his

opinions, felt an ardent desire to carry the gospel over the Alps. ‘I wish,’ said he, ‘that we had living books, I mean preachers, and that we could multiply them, and afford them protection in all quarters, in order that they might convey the knowledge of holy things to the people. The prince could not do a thing more worthy of him. Were the inhabitants of Italy to receive the truth, our cause would be unassailable.’ His design was not, at this time, carried out, but at a later period evangelists, even Calvin himself, sojourned for a while in Italy. The idea, at this period, was, that everything must be done by governments. The association of private individuals, by which so much is now accomplished in Christendom, was almost unknown.

“Luther’s discourse ‘on the Holy Mass’ was at this time delivered at Wittemberg. ‘The multiplicity of spiritual laws,’ said he, ‘has filled the world with sects and divisions. Priests, monks, and laics, have shown more hatred of each other than subsists between Christians and Turks. What do I say? Priests are mortal enemies of priests, and monks of monks. Each is attached to his particular sect, and despises all others. There is an end of Christian love and unity.’ He then attacks the idea that the mass is a sacrifice, and has any efficacy in itself. ‘The best thing in every sacrament, and consequently in the Supper, is the word and promises of God. Without faith in this word, and these promises, the sacrament is dead; a body without a soul, a flagon without wine, a purse without money, a type without an antitype, the letter without the spirit, a casket without a diamond, a scabbard without its sword.’

“Luther’s voice was not confined to Wittemberg; and if he failed to procure missionaries to carry his instructions to distant lands, God provided him with a missionary of a new description.” The power of “the reed like unto a rod” is here foreshadowed. “*The art of printing supplied the place of evangelists. The press was destined to make a breach in the Roman fortress. Luther had prepared a mine, the explosion of which shook the Roman edifice to its very foundations.* This was his famous treatise on *the Babylonish Captivity of the Church*, which appeared 6th of October, 1520. Never had

man displayed such courage under such critical circumstances. In this writing, he first enumerates all the advantages for which he is indebted to his enemies. 'Whether I will or not,' he says, 'I daily become more learned, spurred on as I am by so many celebrated masters. Two years ago, I attacked indulgences, but with so much fear and indecision, that I am now ashamed of it.' He returns thanks to Prierio, Eck, Emser, and his other opponents, and continues:—'I denied that the papacy was of God, but I granted that it had the authority of man. Now, after reading all the subtleties by which these sparks prop up their idol, I know that the papacy is only the kingdom of Babylon, and the tyranny of the great hunter Nimrod. I, therefore, beg all my friends, and all booksellers, to burn the books which I wrote on this subject, and to substitute for them the single proposition — *The papacy is a general chace, by command of the Roman pontiff, for the purpose of running down and destroying souls.*'" Luther here again illustrates his following the new path assigned to him by the prophecy. D'Aubigné continues his testimony:—

"Luther afterwards attacks the prevailing errors on the sacraments, on monastic vows, etc. The conclusion of this famous production on the captivity of Babylon is in the following terms:—'The Christian people is the people of God led away into captivity to Babylon, and there robbed of their baptism. I learn that a new papal excommunication has been prepared against me. If so, the present book may be regarded as part of my future recantation. In proof of my obedience, the rest will soon follow, and the whole will, with the help of Christ, form a collection, the like to which Rome never saw or heard before.'

"The bull which anathematized Luther was already in the hands of the Germanic church, and at Luther's own door. It would seem that no doubt was entertained at Rome as to the success of the measure which had thus been adopted against the Reformation. The pope had charged two high functionaries of his court, Carracioli and Aleander, to be the bearers of it to the archbishop of Mentz, who was requested to see to its execution. But Eck himself appeared

in Saxony as the herald and executor of the great pontifical work. The sentence brought by his implacable adversary, Luther regarded as an act of personal revenge. 'He regarded it,' says Pallavicini, 'as the perfidious poniard of a mortal enemy, and not as the legitimate act of a Roman lictor.'

"Eck had hastened back to Saxony, which, as having been the scene of battle, he was desirous should be also the scene of his victory. He published the bull at Meissen, Merseburg, and Brandenburg towards the end of September. But in the first of these towns it was posted up in a place where no one could read it; and the bishops of these three sees were in no haste to publish it. Even duke George, Eck's great patron, prohibited the council of Leipsic from making it public, before receiving orders from the bishop of Merseburg, and these orders did not arrive till the following year. The Ingolstadt doctor soon had occasion to see that a year had produced a great change in Leipsic. On St. Michael's day some students posted up placards in ten different places, containing a severe attack on the new nuncio, who, in amazement, took refuge in the cloister of St. Paul. The students composed a song upon him and sang it in the streets. Eck must have heard it in his prison. Every day brought him threatening letters. One hundred and fifty students, who had arrived from Wittemberg, spoke out boldly against the papal envoy. For once the poor apostolic nuncio could hold out no longer. Eck, quitting his retreat at night, clandestinely escaped from Leipsic to hide himself at Coburg. Miltitz, who had repaired to Leipsic, triumphed more than the Reformer. His triumph, however, was not of long duration. One day, when drunk, he fell into the Rhine at Mentz, and was drowned. Eck gradually recovered courage. Repairing to Erfurt, whose theologians had on more than one occasion betrayed their jealousy of Luther, he insisted on having his bull published in this town, but the students seized the copies, tore them to pieces, and threw them into the river, saying, 'since it is a bull, let it swim.' Eck durst not make his appearance at Wittemberg; but he sent the bull to the rector with a threat that if it was not

conformed to, he would destroy the university. Luther and Carlstadt, who were condemned by the bull, were asked to take part in the meetings which were held to deliberate on its contents. The rector declared that, as he had not received a letter from the pope along with the bull, he declined to publish it. The university had already acquired greater authority in the surrounding countries than the sovereign pontiff himself. Its declaration served as a model to the government of the Elector; and thus *the spirit which was in Luther triumphed over the bull of Rome.*

“ But what signified all this resistance by students, rectors, and priests. If the mighty arm of Charles V. is joined to the mighty arm of the pope, will they not crush these scholars and grammarians? Will any one be able to resist the combined power of the pontiff of Christendom and of the emperor of the west? The blow has been struck. Luther is excommunicated, and the gospel seems lost. At this solemn moment Luther does not disguise to himself the magnitude of the danger to which he is exposed; but he looks upward, and prepares to receive, as from the hand of the Lord himself, a blow which seems destined to annihilate him. ‘What the result is to be,’ says he, ‘I know not, and I am not anxious to know, *certain as I am that He who sits in heaven has from all eternity foreseen the beginning, the progress, and the end of this affair.*’ Wherever the blow is to strike, I am without fear. The leaf of a tree falls not without our Father’s will. How much less shall we fall? It is a small matter to die for the Word, since this Word which became incarnate and that for us, has also died. If we die with it, we shall rise again with it, and remain with it throughout eternity.’

“ Sometimes, however, Luther could not restrain the contempt which he felt for the manœuvres of his enemies. On these occasions he displays his characteristic combination of sublimity and sarcasm. ‘I know nothing of Eck,’ says he, ‘except that he arrived with a long beard, a long bull, and a long purse. But I will laugh at his bull.’ On the 3rd of October he was made acquainted with the papal letter. ‘At length,’ says he, ‘this Roman bull has arrived. I

despise it, and defy it as impious, false, and in all respects worthy of Eck. Oh, if Charles V. were a man, and would for the love of Christ attack these demons! I rejoice in having to endure some hardships for the best of causes. I already feel more liberty in my heart; for at length I know that the pope is Antichrist, and that his see is of Satan himself.'

"Germany waited to see what the Reformer would do. Would he stand firm? All eyes were fixed on Wittemberg. Luther did not keep his contemporaries long in suspense. On the 4th November, 1520, he replied with a discharge of thunder, by publishing his treatise, '*Against the bull of Antichrist.*' 'What errors, what impostures,' said he, 'have crept in among the poor people under the cloak of the church, and the pretended infallibility of the pope! how many souls have thus been lost! how much blood shed! what murders committed! what kingdoms ruined!' Further on he says, 'Besides, let them destroy my works, I desire nothing more; for all I wished was *to guide men to the Bible*, that they might thereafter lay aside all my writings. If we had the knowledge of the Scripture, what need would there be for my writings? I am free by the grace of God, and bulls neither frighten nor solace me. My strength and consolation are where neither men nor devils can assail them. Did I know that the pope had really given this bull at Rome' (he did not doubt it) 'and that it was not the invention of the arch-liar Eck, *I would cry aloud to all Christians that they ought to hold the pope as the true Antichrist spoken of in scripture.*'

"While Luther was speaking forcibly, his perils were increasing. The scheme of his enemies was to drive him out of Wittemberg. If Luther and Wittemberg are separated, both will be destroyed. Duke George, the bishop of Merseburg, and the theologians of Leipsic were labouring underhand at this work. Luther, on being apprised of it, said, 'I leave this affair in the hands of God.'

"These proceedings were not without result. It required great firmness in the faith to withstand the shock given by the Roman bull. Adrian, professor of Hebrew at Wittemberg, suddenly turned against the doctor. Frightened at the condemnation, he quitted Wittemberg, and repaired to

Leipsic to be near Dr. Eck. The bull began to be executed. The voice of the pontiff of Christendom was not an empty sound. Long had fire and sword taught subjection to it. Faggot piles were prepared at his bidding, and everything indicated that a dreadful catastrophe was to put an end to the audacious revolt of the Augustine monk. In October, 1520, all the copies of Luther's works in the shops of the booksellers at Ingolstadt were seized and put under seal. The archbishop-elect of Mentz, moderate as he was, had to banish Ulric of Hütten from his court, and imprison his printer. The papal nuncios having laid siege to the young emperor, Charles declared that he would protect the ancient religion ; and in some of his hereditary possessions, scaffolds were erected, on which the writings of the heretic were reduced to ashes. Princes of the church, and magistrates were present at these auto-da-fé. Aleander was quite elated with his success. 'The pope,' says he, 'may dethrone kings ! He may, if he chooses, say to the emperor, thou art only a tanner ! He knows well how to bring one or two miserable grammarians to their senses. We will dispose, moreover, of duke Frederick also.' To hear the proud nuncio, one would have said that the pile of Mentz, which consumed Luther's books, was the beginning of the end. These flames, it was said at Rome, will carry terror into every quarter. Such, in truth, was the effect on many superstitious and timid spirits ; but even in the hereditary states of Charles, where alone it was ventured to execute the bull, the people, and even the grandees, often answered these pontifical demonstrations with derision, or expressions of indignation. 'Luther,' said the doctors of Louvain, on presenting themselves before Margaret, regent of the Netherlands, 'Luther is subverting the Christian faith.' 'Who is this Luther ?' asked the princess. 'An ignorant monk,' they replied. 'Well, then,' said she, 'do you who are learned, and in such numbers, write against him. The world will credit a multitude of learned men, sooner than an isolated, ignorant monk.' The doctors of Louvain preferred an easier method. They caused a vast pile to be raised at their own expense. The place of execution was

covered with spectators, and students and burghers were seen hastening through the crowd, their arms filled with large volumes, which they threw into the flames. Their zeal edified the monks and doctors; but the trick was afterwards discovered. Instead of the writings of Luther, they had thrown into the fire only scholastic and popish books. The count of Nassau, viceroy of Holland, when the Dominicans were soliciting the favour of burning the doctor's books, said to them, 'Go and preach the gospel as purely as Luther, and you will have nobody to complain of.' The baron of Ravenstein said, 'In the space of four centuries, only one Christian man has dared to lift his head, and the pope is wishing to put him to death.'

"Luther remained tranquil amid the tumult which the bull had excited. 'Did you not urge me so keenly,' said he to Spalatin, 'I would be silent, well knowing that by the power and counsel of God, this work must be accomplished.' Luther discerned a power not visible to his friend. 'Be of good courage,' he continues, 'Christ began these things, and Christ will accomplish them, though I should be put to flight or to death. Jesus Christ is present here, and more powerful is He who is in us, than he who is in the world.'

"But duty obliged him to speak, in order to manifest the truth to the world. Rome has struck, and he will make it known how he receives the blow. *Up to this hour, the pope's word has been omnipotent.* Luther will oppose word for word, and the world will know which is the more powerful of the two. 'I am desirous,' said he, 'to set my conscience at rest, by making men aware of the danger to which they are exposed.' At the same time he prepares to renew his appeal to an universal council.

"An appeal from the pope to a council was a crime, and hence the mode in which Luther attempts to justify himself is a new act of hostility to papal authority. On the morning of the 17th November, a notary and five witnesses met, at ten o'clock, in one of the halls of the Augustin convent in which the doctor resided. There, the public officer having seated himself to draw up the minute of his protest, the Reformer, in presence of the witnesses, says, with a solemn

tone : ‘ Considering that a general council of the Christian church is above the pope, especially in all that concerns the faith. Considering that the power of the pope is not above, but beneath Scripture, and that he has no right to worry the sheep of Christ, and throw them into the wolf’s mouth ; I, Martin Luther, Augustin, doctor of the Holy Scriptures at Wittemberg, do, by this writing, appeal for myself, and for all who shall adhere to me, from the most holy pope Leo, to a future universal Christian council. I appeal from the said pope Leo, first, as an unjust, rash, tyrannical judge, who condemns we without hearing me, and without explaining the grounds of his judgment ; secondly, as a heretic, a strayed, obdurate apostate, condemned by the Holy Scriptures, inasmuch as he ordains me to deny that Christian faith is necessary to the use of the sacraments ; thirdly, as an enemy, an Antichrist, an adversary, a tyrant of the Holy Scripture, who dares to oppose his own word to all the words of God ; fourthly, as a despiser, a calumniator, a blasphemer of the holy Christian church, and a free council, inasmuch as he pretends that a council is nothing in itself. Wherefore, I most humbly supplicate the most serene, most illustrious, excellent, generous, noble, brave, sage, and prudent lords, Charles, the Roman emperor, the electors, princes, counts, barons, knights, gentlemen, counsellors, towns, and commonalities, throughout Germany, to adhere to my protestation, and join me in resisting the antichristian conduct of the pope, for the glory of God, the defence of the church, and of Christian doctrine, and the maintenance of free councils in Christendom. Let them do so, and Christ our Lord will richly recompence them by his eternal grace. But if there be any who despise my prayer, and continue to obey that impious man, the pope, rather than God, I, by these presents, shake myself free of the responsibility. Having faithfully warned their consciences, I leave them, as well as the pope, and all his adherents, to the sovereign judgment of God.’ ” The exhortation of the angel in the vision to John, and his rejection of the outer-court worshippers is here again heard by the church.

“Such,” D’Aubigné adds, “is Luther’s deed of divorce”—between the inner and outer courts worshippers—“such his answer to the papal bull. This protestation spread over Germany, and was sent to the leading courts of Christendom.

“Though the step, which Luther had just taken, seemed the very height of daring, he had a still bolder step in reserve. On the 10th of December, a notice appeared on the walls of Wittemberg, inviting the professors and students to meet at nine o’clock in the morning, at the east gate, near the holy cross. A great number of teachers and pupils assembled, and Luther, walking at their head, led the procession to the appointed spot. How many faggot piles has Rome kindled in the course of ages? Luther desires to make a better application of the great Roman principle. He only wishes to rid himself of some old papers, and the fire, he thinks, is the fit instrument for that purpose. A scaffold had been prepared. One of the oldest masters of arts applied the torch. At the moment when the flames rose, the redoubted Augustin, dressed in his frock, was seen to approach the pile, holding in his hands, the Canon Law, the Decretals, the Clementines, the Extravagants of the popes, some writings of Eck, and the papal bull. The decretals having been the first consumed, Luther held up the bull, and saying, ‘Since thou hast grieved the Lord’s anointed, let the eternal fire grieve and consume thee,’ threw it into the flames. Never was war declared with more energy and resolution. Luther quietly took the road back to the town, and the crowd of doctors, professors, and students, after a loud cheer, returned with him to Wittemberg. ‘In all the papal laws,’ says Luther, ‘there is not one word to teach who Jesus Christ is. My enemies have been able by burning my books to injure the truth in the minds of the common people, and, therefore, I have burnt their books in my turn. A serious struggle has now commenced. I *began* the work in the name of God’”—in the days of the sixth angel; “‘it will be *terminated* without me, and by his power,’ ” in the days of the seventh. “*Thus solemnly did Luther declare his separation from the pope and his church.* It made the Christian world aware that there was now mortal war,

between him and the pope." Having "cried with a loud voice as when a lion roareth," "on reaching the shore, he burnt his ships, and he left himself no alternative but that of advancing to the combat.

"Luther had returned to Wittemberg. Men's minds were excited. Next day the academic hall was fuller than usual. A feeling of solemnity prevailed throughout the audience in expectation of an address from the doctor. He commented on the Psalms. Having finished his lecture, he paused for a few moments, and then said firmly:—'Be on your guard against the laws and statutes of the pope. I have burned the decretals, but it is mere child's-play. It is time, and more than time, to burn the pope. I mean,' he instantly resumed, 'the see of Rome, with all its doctrines and abominations.' Then assuming a solemn tone, he said:—'If you do not, with all your heart, combat the impious government of the pope, you cannot be saved. Whoever takes pleasure in the religion and worship of the papacy will be eternally lost in the life to come. If we reject it'" (or "write not") "'we may expect all kinds of dangers and even the loss of life. But it is far better to run such risks in the world than to be silent! As long as I live I will warn my brethren of the sore and plague of Babylon, lest several who are with us, fall back with the others into the abyss of hell.'"

It will be here observed how illustrative of the part enacted by "the mighty angel" in the prophecy is almost every word uttered, and deed done, by Luther at this juncture. This is the more interesting, inasmuch as the public secession of Luther from the Roman church, just consummated by his burning the decretals and the bull of Rome, reveals him fulfilling in the most prominent manner the requirement of the prophetic terms "come down from heaven."

The peculiarly illustrative force of Luther's sayings and doings at this period was even recognised, and, without intentional Apocalyptic reference, expressed at the time; for the historian continues:—"It is scarcely possible to imagine the effect produced upon the audience by language,

the energy of which still makes us wonder. ‘None of us,’ adds the candid student to whom we owe the fact, ‘at least if he be not a block without intelligence, none of us doubt that it contains the simple truth. *It is evident to all the faithful, that Dr. Luther is an angel of the living God, called to feed the long bewildered sheep of Christ with the divine word.*’ This discourse, and the act which crowned it, mark an important epoch in the Reformation. The Leipsic discussion had detached Luther inwardly from the pope. *But the moment when he burned the bull was that in which he declared, in the most expressive manner, his entire separation from the bishop of Rome and his church, and his attachment to the church universal, as founded by the apostles of Jesus Christ. After three centuries the fire which he kindled at the east gate is still burning.*

“‘The pope,’ said he, ‘has three crowns, and they are these:—the first is against God, for he condemns religion,—the second against the emperor, for he condemns the secular power,—and the third against society, for he condemns marriage.’ When he was reproached for inveighing too violently against the papacy, he replied, ‘Ah! I wish everything I testify against him were a clap of thunder, and every one of my words were a thunderbolt.’

“The firmness of Luther was communicated to his friends and countrymen. A whole nation rallied round him. Carlstadt raised his voice against ‘the raging lion of Florence,’ who tore divine and human laws to pieces, and trampled under foot the principles of eternal truth. Melancthon addressed the states of the empire. Luther himself spoke not more forcibly; ‘Luther implores your faith and zeal, and all pious men implore with him, some with loud voices, and others with groans and sighs. Remember, princes of the Christian people, that you are Christians, and rescue the sad wrecks of Christianity from the tyranny of Antichrist. You are deceived by those who pretend that you have no authority over priests. The same spirit which animated Jehu against the priests of Baal, urges you, in imitation of that ancient example, to abolish the Roman superstition—a superstition far more horrible than the idolatry of Baal.’”

The exhortation and excommunication by the angel is here again heard by the church. "Some cries of alarm were, however, heard among the friends of the Reformation. Staupitz in particular expressed the keenest anguish. 'Till now,' said Luther to him, 'the whole affair has been mere sport. You yourself have said, did not God do these things, it is impossible they could be done. The tumult becomes more and more tumultuous, *and I do not think it will be quelled until the last day.* The papacy is not now what it was yesterday and the day before. Let it excommunicate and burn my writings; let it kill me! it cannot arrest what is going forward. Something wonderful is at the door. I burnt the bull in great trembling, but now I experience more joy from it than from any action of my life. O, my father, pray for the word of God and for me. I am heaved on the billows, and, as it were, whirled upon them.'

"War is declared on all sides. The combatants have thrown away their scabbards. The word of God has resumed its rights, and deposes him who had gone the length of usurping God's place. Society is shaken throughout. All, however, were not of the same opinion. Luther was loaded with reproaches; the storm burst upon him from all sides. 'He is quite alone,' said some; 'he teaches novelties,' said others. 'Who knows,' replied Luther, in accordance with the virtue given him from on high, 'who knows if God has not chosen me, and called me, and if they ought not to fear that in despising me, they may be despising God himself? Moses was alone on coming out of Egypt — Elijah alone in the time of king Ahab — Isaiah alone in Jerusalem — Ezekiel alone at Babylon. God never chose for a prophet either the high priest or any other great personage. He usually chose persons who were low and despised; on one occasion he even chose a shepherd (Amos). At all times the saints have had to rebuke the great, kings, princes, priests, the learned, at the risk of their lives. And under the new Dispensation, has it not been the same? I do not say that I am a prophet, but I say they ought to fear because I am alone, and they are many. One thing I am sure of — the word of God is with me and is not with

them. It is said, also, that I advance novelties, and that it is impossible that all other doctors have for so long a period been mistaken. No, I do not preach novelties. But, I say that all Christian doctrines have disappeared, even among those who ought to have preserved them; I mean bishops and the learned. I doubt not, however, that the truth has remained in some hearts, should it even have been in infants in the cradle. Poor peasants, mere babes, now understand Jesus Christ better than the pope, the bishops, and the doctors.' "

The comment here furnished on the term "again," in the prophecy ("Thou must prophecy again, &c.") must not be unnoticed. D'Aubigné continues:—"To the accusation of rejecting the holy doctors of the Church, Luther replies, 'The Bible is lord and master.' He afterwards reviews the propositions condemned in the bull as heretical, and demonstrates their truth by proofs drawn from Holy Scripture. With what force, in particular, does he now maintain the doctrine of grace." ("A rainbow was upon his head.") "'What!' says he, 'will nature be able, before and without grace, to hate sin, avoid it, and repent of it; while that, even since grace is come, this nature loves sin, seeks it, desires it, and ceases not to combat grace, and to be irritated against it. No, it is not by considering sin and its consequences that we attain to repentance, but by contemplating Jesus Christ, his wounds, and boundless love. The knowledge of sin must result from repentance, and not repentance from the knowledge of sin. Knowledge is the fruit, repentance is the tree. With us the fruit grows upon the tree, but, it would seem that, in the states of the holy father, the tree grows upon the fruit.'

"The courageous doctor, though he protests, also retracts some of his propositions. Surprise will cease when his mode of doing it is known. After quoting the four propositions on indulgences, condemned by the bull, he simply adds, 'In honour of the holy and learned bull I retract all that I have ever taught touching indulgences. If my books have been justly burned, it must certainly be because I conceded something to the pope in the doctrine of indulgences, wherefore I myself condemn them to the fire.' He also

retracts in regard to John Huss ; ‘ I say now, not that *some* articles, but *all* the articles of John Huss are Christian throughout. The pope, in condemning Huss, condemned the gospel. I have done five times more than he, and yet I much fear I have not done enough. Huss merely says, that a wicked pope is not a member of Christendom ; but I, were St. Peter himself sitting to-day at Rome, would deny that he was pope by the appointment of God.’ The powerful words of the Reformer penetrated all minds. The sparks of light which each word threw out were communicated to the whole nation. Would the prince, in whose states Luther dwelt, favour the execution of the bull, or would he oppose it ? The reply seemed doubtful.

“ At that time the Elector and all the princes of the empire were at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the crown of Charlemagne was placed upon the head of the youngest but most powerful monarch of Christendom. Unprecedented pomp and magnificence were displayed in the ceremony. Charles V., Frederick, the princes, ministers, and ambassadors immediately after repaired to Cologne. Among the crowd of strangers who pressed into the city were the two papal nuncios, Carracioli and Aleander, who were appointed to congratulate the new emperor and confer with him on matters of state. Rome had become aware that, in order to extinguish the Reformation, it was necessary to send into Germany a nuncio specially entrusted with the task. Aleander had been selected. He is admitted to have been violent in temper, prompt in action, full of ardour, indefatigable, imperious, and devoted to the pope. Eck is the blustering, intrepid champion of the school ; Aleander, the proud ambassador of the arrogant court of the pontiffs. He seemed formed to be a nuncio. Rome had made every preparation to destroy the monk of Wittemberg. The essential part of Aleander’s commission was to dispose Charles to crush the growing Reformation. In putting the bull into the hands of the emperor, the nuncio thus addressed him :— ‘ The pope, who has succeeded with so many great princes, will have little difficulty in bringing these grammarians to order.’ No sooner had Aleander arrived at Cologne than

he proceeded to put everything in train for burning Luther's heretical writings throughout the empire, but more especially under the eyes of the princes of Germany, who were then assembled. Charles V. had already consented to its being done in his hereditary states. 'Such measures,' it was said to the ministers of Charles, and to the nuncios themselves, 'far from curing the evil, will only make it worse.' The nuncio defended his faggot piles. 'These flames,' said he, 'are a sentence of condemnation written in gigantic letters, and understood alike by those who are near and those who are at a distance, by the learned and the ignorant, by those even who cannot read.' But in reality, the nuncio's efforts were directed not against papers and books, but Luther himself. 'These flames,' said he, 'are not sufficient to purify the infected air of Germany. If they deter the simple, they do not correct the wicked. The thing wanted is an edict from the emperor against Luther's head.'

"Aleander did not find the emperor so complying on the subject of the Reformer's person as on that of his books. 'Having just ascended the throne,' said he to Aleander, 'I cannot, without the advice of my counsellors, and the consent of the princes, strike such a blow against such an immense faction, surrounded by such powerful defenders. Let us first know what our father, the Elector of Saxony, thinks of the affair; after that, we shall see what answer to give to the pope.' On the Elector, therefore, the nuncios proceeded to try their wiles, and the power of their eloquence.

"At an audience granted them by Frederick, Carracioli first presented the papal brief. 'In you,' said he, 'we hope for the salvation of the Roman Church and the Roman empire.' Aleander said, 'In the name of his holiness, I ask of you two things: first, to burn the writings of Luther; secondly, to punish him according to his demerits, or at least to give him up a prisoner to the pope. The emperor and all the princes of the empire have declared their readiness to accede to our demands; you alone still hesitate.' Frederick replied by the intervention of the bishop of Trent, 'This affair is too grave to be decided on the spur of the moment. We will acquaint you with our resolution.'

“Frederick’s position was difficult. On the one side are the emperor, the princes of the empire, and the chief pontiff of Christendom, from whose authority the Elector has as yet no thought of withdrawing; on the other, a monk, a feeble monk, for his person is all that is asked. Other voices were then heard.” The Church hears voices, “Write not” (reject) “the things which the seven thunders uttered.”

“John Frederick, son of duke John, and nephew of Frederick, a young prince, seventeen years of age, who afterwards wore the electoral crown, and whose reign was marked by great misfortunes, had been inspired with a heartfelt love of the truth, and was strongly attached to Luther. When he saw him struck with the anathemas of Rome, he wrote to the doctor, and also to his uncle soliciting him to protect Luther against his enemies. At the same time, Spalatin, Pontanus, and the other counsellors who were with the Elector at Cologne, represented to him that he could not abandon the Reformer.

“Amid the general agitation, only one man remained tranquil—that man was Luther. While others were trying to save him by the influence of the great, the monk, in his cloister at Wittemberg, thought that the great stood in more need of being saved by him. Writing to Spalatin, he says, ‘If the gospel was of a nature to be propagated or maintained by the power of the world, God would not have entrusted it to fishermen. To defend the gospel appertains not to the princes and pontiffs of this world. They have enough to do to shelter themselves from the judgments of the Lord and his Anointed. If I speak, I do it in order that they may attain the knowledge of the divine word, and be saved by it.’ Luther’s expectation was not to be deceived. The faith exercised its influence in the palaces of Cologne. The heart of Frederick, shaken perhaps for an instant, became gradually stronger. Justice, rather than the pope, such was the rule he adopted. He resolved not to yield to Rome. On the 4th November, when the Roman nuncios were in his presence with the bishop of Trent, his counsellors announced to them, on the part of the Elector, that he was much grieved to see how Doctor Eck had taken the oppor-

tunity of his absence to involve in condemnation several persons not adverted to in the bull ; that it might be that, since his departure, an immense number of the learned and the ignorant, the clergy and the laity, had united in adhering to the cause and the appeal of Luther ; that neither his imperial majesty, nor any person, had shown him that the writings of Luther had been refuted ; and that the only thing now necessary was to throw them into the fire ; that he, moreover, demanded a safe-conduct for Doctor Luther, to enable him to appear before learned, pious, and impartial judges. *It was the first time the Elector had publicly declared his intentions with regard to the Reformer.* The nuncios had anticipated a very different result. ‘Now,’ thought they, ‘that the Elector, by persisting in playing his part of impartiality, would expose himself to dangers, the fullest extent of which cannot be foreseen, he will not hesitate to sacrifice the monk.’ So Rome had reasoned. But her schemes were destined to fall before the power of a love of justice and truth. Seeing that the Elector’s counsellors were not to be shaken, Aleander said, ‘We will execute the bull, we will prosecute and burn the writings of Luther.’

“News of the reply which the Elector had given to the nuncios having reached Wittemberg,” and thus the voice of supreme authority heard rejecting the things which the seven thunders uttered, “Luther’s friends were overjoyed. Melancthon and Amsdorff, in particular, cherished the most flattering hopes. ‘The German nobility,’ said Melancthon, ‘will shape their course by the example of a prince whom they follow in everything as their Nestor.’

“Erasmus, styled the oracle of courts, the torch of the schools, the light of the world, was then at Cologne, having been invited thither by several of the princes, who wished to consult him. The Elector, aware that the opinion of a man so much respected as Erasmus would carry great weight, invited the illustrious Dutchman to come to him. Erasmus complied. ‘What think you of Luther?’ immediately asked Frederick. Erasmus, not knowing how to disembarass himself from the situation in which the direct question and the penetrating gaze of the Elector had

placed him, replied, half in jest, 'Luther has committed two great faults—he has attacked the pope's crown and the monk's belly.' The Elector smiled, but gave Erasmus to understand that he was in earnest. Then Erasmus, laying aside his reserve, said, 'The source of all this dispute is the hatred of the monks against letters, and the fear they have of seeing an end put to their tyranny. The more virtuous and the more attached to the gospel a man is, the less he is opposed to Luther. The harshness of the bull has excited the indignation of all good men, and nobody has been able to discover in it the meekness of a vicar of Jesus Christ. Things difficult and arduous are at hand. To begin the reign of Charles with an act so hateful as the imprisonment of Luther would be of sad augury. The world is thirsting for evangelical truth. Let us beware of culpably resisting it. Let the affair be examined by men of sound judgment; this would be more accordant with the dignity of the pope himself.'

"Thus spoke Erasmus to the Elector. Spalatin was delighted. The Elector, feeling strong in the opinion of Erasmus, spoke in more decided terms to the emperor. Charles V. himself embraced a vacillating system, which consisted in flattering both the pope and the Elector, and in seeming to incline alternately towards one or the other, according to the wants of the moment. One of his ministers, whom he had sent to Rome on certain Spanish matters, had arrived at the very time when Eck was loudly prosecuting Luther's condemnation. The wily ambassador instantly saw the advantages which his master might derive from the Saxon monk, and on the 12th May, 1520, wrote the emperor, who was still in Spain; 'Your majesty should go into Germany, and there show some favour to one Martin Luther, who is at the court of Saxony, and, by his discourses, is giving much uneasiness to the court of Rome.' Such, at the outset, was the light in which Charles viewed the matter. His object was not to know on which side truth or error lay, or to ascertain what the great interest of Germany demanded. What does policy require; and by what means can the pope be induced to support the emperor? This

was the whole question, and at Rome was well known to be so. The ministers of Charles gave Aleander a hint of the plan which their master meant to follow. ‘The emperor,’ said they, ‘will act towards the pope as the pope acts towards the emperor, for he cares not to increase the power of his rivals, and in particular of the king of France.’ At these words, the imperious nuncio gave vent to his indignation :— ‘What,’ replied he, ‘even should the pope abandon the emperor, must the emperor abandon religion? If Charles means thus to take his revenge, let him tremble. This unprincipled course will turn against himself.’ The imperial diplomatists were not moved by the menaces of the nuncio.

“If the legates of Rome failed with the mighty of the world, the inferior agents of the papacy succeeded in producing disturbance among the weak. The militia of Rome had heard the command of their chief. Fanatical priests employed the bull in alarming consciences, and honest but ill informed ecclesiastics regarded it as a sacred duty to act conformably to the instructions of the pope. The bull, though openly contemned by the nation, became powerful in the solitary tribunals of the confessional. ‘Have you read the writings of Luther?’ demanded the confessors. ‘Do you possess them? Do you regard them as sound or heretical?’ If the penitent hesitated to pronounce the anathema, the priest refused him absolution. Several consciences were troubled. This skilful manœuvre promised to restore to the papal yoke whole districts gained to the gospel. Rome congratulated herself on having in the thirteenth century erected a tribunal destined to bring the free consciences of Christians under subjection to the priests. While it continues in force, her reign is not ended. Luther became aware of these circumstances. Single handed what will he do to defeat the manœuvre? The word—the word uttered loudly and boldly : such is his weapon. The word will search out these alarmed consciences, these frightened souls, and strengthen them. A powerful impulse was required, and Luther’s voice was heard addressing penitents with heroic boldness, and a noble disregard of all secondary

considerations. ‘When you are asked,’ said he, ‘whether or not you approve my books, answer—You are a confessor, and not an inquisitor or a gaoler. My duty is to confess what my conscience dictates; yours, not to probe and discover the secrets of my heart. Give me absolution, and thereafter dispute with Luther, the pope and whomsoever you please, but do not connect the sacrament of peace with strife and combat. If the confessor will not yield, then I would rather dispense with his absolution. Give yourself no uneasiness; if man will not absolve you, God will absolve you. Rejoice in that you are absolved by God himself, and present yourself without fear at the sacrament of the altar. The priest will have to account at the final judgment for the absolution which he shall have refused you. They may indeed refuse us the sacrament, but they cannot deprive us of the strength and grace which God has attached to it. God has placed salvation neither in their will nor in their power, but in our faith. Leave their sacrament, altar, priest, church: the word of God, condemned in the bull, is more than all these things. The soul can dispense with the sacrament, but cannot live without the word. Christ, the true bishop, will undertake to nourish you spiritually.’ Thus, Luther’s voice found its way into families and alarmed consciences, imparting to them courage and faith.

“But it was not enough for him to defend himself; he felt it his duty to return blow for blow. Ambrose Catherin, a Roman theologian, had written against him. ‘I will stir up the bile of the Italian beast,’ said Luther, and he kept his word. *In his reply, he proved by the Revelations of Daniel and St. John, by the Epistles of St. Paul, St. Peter and St. Jude, that the reign of antichrist, predicted and described in the Bible, was the papacy.* ‘I know for certain,’ says he, in conclusion, ‘that our Lord Jesus Christ lives and reigns. Strong in this assurance, I would not fear several thousands of popes. May God at length visit you according to his infinite power, and cause the day of the glorious advent of his Son to shine, that day in which he will destroy the wicked;’” and “the voice of the seventh angel” declare “the mystery

of God to be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets"—“ ‘and let all the people say, Amen!’ And all the people did say, Amen! A holy fear took possession of men’s souls. They saw antichrist seated on the pontifical throne. This new idea, an idea which derived great force from the *prophetical* description, being thrown by Luther into the midst of his age, gave Rome a dreadful shock. *Faith in the divine word*”—“*the reed like unto a rod*”—“*was substituted for that which, till then, the church alone had obtained, and the power of the pope, which had long been adored by the people, became the object of their hatred and terror.*”

The historic comment on the prophecy here exhibited is perfect, and the terms of the angel’s oath expressed therein, taken in their collective and general sense, consistently, accurately, and interestingly illustrated by Luther, the angel’s impersonator, declaring, in reply to the papal voices of the “seven thunders,” the untruthfulness of those voices to the true church, to whom, up to this time, their character had been hidden, or “sealed up;” by Luther’s having also emphatically proclaimed—appealing to the Holy Scriptures, and solemnly invoking God as a witness to its truth—that the “seven thunders’” “time” of triumph “should be no longer;” and by his having reserved a final result for “the day of the glorious advent of the Son of God, that day in which he will destroy the wicked,” in illustrative accordance with “But in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound, the mystery of God should be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets.”

D'Aubigné continues:—“Germany replied to the papal bull by surrounding Luther with acclamations. The church of the convent and the town church were too small for the crowds eager to hear the words of the Reformer. Letters full of consolation and faith, from princes, noble and learned men, reached Luther from all quarters. One day, the margrave of Brandenburg, with several other princes, arrived at Wittemberg to visit Luther. ‘They wished to see the man,’ said the margrave. In fact, all wished to see the man whose word alarmed the pope, and

caused the pontiff of the West to totter on his throne. The enthusiasm of Luther's friends increased from day to day. His writings were eagerly devoured. Ulric von Hüttenwrote letters to Luther, to the legates, and the leading men of Germany. 'I tell you, and tell you again,' said he to the legate Carracioli, in one of his publications, 'the mists with which you blinded us are cleared away—the gospel is preached—the truth proclaimed—the absurdities of Rome treated with contempt—your ordinances languish and die—liberty begins.'

"Still the Reformer's whole course was not one of exultation and triumph. Behind the car in which he was drawn by his zealous countrymen, there was not wanting the slave to remind him of his frailty. Staupitz, whom he called his father, seemed shaken. The pope had accused him, and Staupitz had declared his readiness to submit to the judgment of his holiness. 'I fear,' said Luther to him, 'that in accepting the pope for judge, you will seem to throw off me, and the doctrines which I have maintained. If Christ loves you, he will constrain you to retract your letter. Christ is condemned, spoiled, blasphemed; it is time not to fear, but to cry aloud. I shall be called proud and avaricious, an adulterer, a murderer, an antipope, a man guilty of all crimes. It matters not, so long as they cannot accuse me of having kept an impious silence at the moment when the Lord was grieved, and said, "I looked on my right hand, and beheld, but there was no man that would know me." The word of Jesus Christ is not a word of peace, but a sword. If you will not follow Jesus Christ, I will walk alone, advance alone, and gain the day.' Thus Luther marked those who were faint-hearted, and recalled them to their post. His exhortations were everywhere heard. His letters rapidly succeeded each other. Three presses were constantly employed in multiplying his writings. His words had free course among the people; strengthened consciences which the confessionals had alarmed; raised up those ready to faint in convents, and maintained the rights of truth in the palaces of princes. 'Amid the tempests which assail me,' wrote he to the Elector, 'I always hoped I would one day

find peace. But I now see it is only a man's thought. Day after day the wave is rising, and I already stand in the midst of the ocean. The tempest breaks loose with fearful roar. With one hand I grasp the sword, and with the other build up the walls of Sion. Her ancient links are snapt asunder, broken by the hand which darted the thunders of excommunication against her. Excommunicated by the bull, I am loosed from the authority of the pope and monastic laws. With joy I embrace the deliverance. But I lay aside neither the habit of the order nor the convent.'

"Thus both the Reformer and the Reformation hastened on in the direction in which God called them. The movement extended. Men who might have been expected to be most faithful to the hierarchy began to be shaken. 'Even those,' says Eck, ingenuously enough, 'who hold of the pope the best benefices and the richest canonries remain mute as fishes. Several among them even extol Luther as a man filled with the Spirit of God, and call the defenders of the pope sophists and flatterers.'

"If great is the influence of a human idea in penetrating the masses, what must be the power of an idea *sent down from heaven*, when God opens the door of the human heart. The world has not often seen such a power in operation. It did see it, however, in the first days of Christianity and in those of the Reformation, and it will see it in days yet to come. Men who disdained the world's wealth and grandeur, and were contented to lead a life of pain and poverty, began to move in behalf of the holiest thing upon the earth—the doctrine of faith and grace. In this heaving of society, all the religious elements were brought into operation, and the fire of enthusiasm hurried men boldly forward into a new life, an epoch of renovation which had just opened so majestically, and towards which Providence was hastening the nations.

"The Reformation, which commenced with the struggles of an humble soul in the cell of a convent at Erfurt, had never ceased to advance. *An obscure individual with the word of life in his hand*, had stood erect in the presence of worldly grandeur, and made it tremble. This word he had opposed first to Tezel and his numerous host; and these avaricious

merchants, after a momentary resistance, had taken flight. Next, he had opposed it to the legate of Rome at Augsburg, and the legate, paralysed, had allowed his prey to escape. At a later period he had opposed it to the champions of learning in the halls of Leipsic, and the astonished theologians had seen their syllogistic weapons broken to pieces in their hands. At last he had opposed it to the pope, who, disturbed in his sleep, had risen up from his throne, and thundered at the troublesome monk; but the whole power of the head of Christendom, this word had paralysed. It behoved to triumph over the emperor of the West, over the kings and princes of the earth, and then, victorious over all the powers of the world, take its place in the Church, to reign in it as the pure word of God. In what relation will the new emperor stand to this movement of the age, and what will be the issue of the mighty impulse, by which all feel they are borne along?

“A solemn Diet was about to be opened. It was the first imperial assembly over which the youthful Charles was to preside. It had been summoned to meet at Worms on the 6th January, 1521. Never had a Diet been attended by so many princes. Among others, the young landgrave, Philip of Hesse, who was afterwards to play so important a part in the Reformation, arrived at Worms in the middle of January, with six hundred cavaliers, among them men of renowned valour. Powerful motives existed to induce the electors, dukes, archbishops, landgraves, margraves, bishops, barons, and lords of the empire, as well as the deputies of towns, and the ambassadors of the kings of Christendom, at this moment, to throng the roads leading to Worms with their brilliant equipages. But the public attention was particularly directed to the Reformation, which the emperor had also mentioned in his letter convening the Diet. This cause was the principal subject of conversation among all personages who arrived at Worms.

“Charles opened the Diet on the 28th of January, 1521. In his opening address he said, that no monarchy could be compared to the Roman empire, to which, of old, almost the whole world had been subject; that, unhappily, the empire was now only the shadow of what it had been; but

that he hoped, by means of his kingdoms and powerful alliances, to re-establish it in its ancient glory. But numerous difficulties immediately presented themselves to the young emperor. Aleander urged him to execute the papal bull; Frederick begged him to undertake nothing against the monk without giving him a hearing. Wishing to please these two opposite parties, the young prince had written to the Elector to bring Luther to the Diet, assuring him that no injustice would be done him, that he would meet with no violence, and that learned men would confer with him. This letter of Charles threw the Elector into great perplexity. Frederick, by taking Luther to Worms, was perhaps taking him to the scaffold, and yet the orders of Charles were express. The Elector ordered Spalatin to acquaint Luther with the letter which he had received. 'The enemy,' says the chaplain to him, 'is putting everything in operation to hasten on the affair.' Luther's friends trembled, but he trembled not. He was then in very feeble health,—no matter. 'If I cannot go to Worms in health,' replied he to the Elector, 'I will make myself be carried; since the emperor calls me, I cannot doubt but that it is a call from *God himself*. If they mean to employ violence against me, as is probable, I leave the matter in the hands of the Lord. He, who preserved the three young men in the furnace, still lives and reigns. If he is not pleased to save me, my life is but a small matter; only let us not allow the gospel to be exposed to the derision of the wicked, and let us shed our blood for it sooner than permit them to triumph. Whether would my life or my death contribute most to the general safety? It is not for us to decide. Let us only pray to God that our young emperor may not commence his reign with dipping his hands in my blood; I would far rather perish by the sword of the Romans. You know what judgments befell the emperor Sigismund after the murder of John Huss. Expect everything of me—save flight and recantation; I cannot fly, still less can I recant!'

"Before receiving this letter from Luther, the Elector had taken his resolution. As he was advancing in the knowledge of the gospel, he began to be more decided in his measures.

Seeing that the conference of Worms could have no happy result, he wrote to the emperor, 'It seems to me to be difficult to bring Luther with me to Worms ; relieve me from the task. Besides, I have never wished to take his doctrine under my protection, but only to prevent him from being condemned without a hearing. The legates, without waiting for your orders, have proceeded to take a step insulting both to Luther and to me, and I much fear that in this way they have hurried him to an imprudent act, which might expose him to great danger, were he to appear at the Diet.' The Elector alluded to the pile which had consumed the papal bull.

"But the rumour of Luther's journey to Worms had already spread. The emperor's courtiers were alarmed, but no one felt so indignant as the papal legate. Aleander on his journey had seen how deep an impression the gospel which Luther preached had made on all classes of society. Literary men, lawyers, nobles, the lower clergy, the regular orders, and the people were gained to the Reformation. The papacy still stood, but its props were shaking. A noise of devastation was already heard, somewhat resembling the creaking which takes place at the time when a mountain begins to slip. Aleander, during his journey to Worms, was sadly annoyed. The proud nuncio was obliged to seek an asylum in taverns of the lowest class. He was thus in terror, and had no doubt that his life was in great danger. In this way, he arrived at Worms. He immediately put every means in operation to prevent the audacious compearance of the redoubtable Luther. 'Would it not be scandalous' said he, 'to see laics re-investigating a cause which the pope had already condemned?' When before Charles, he insisted, implored, threatened, and spoke out as nuncio of the head of the Church. Charles yielded ; and wrote to the Elector that the time granted to Luther, having already elapsed, the monk was under papal excommunication ; and that therefore unless he were willing to retract his writings, Frederick must leave him at Wittemberg.

"Frederick had already quitted Saxony without Luther. Luther was deeply grieved at being prohibited to appear at

Worms. Aleander did not consider it enough that Luther should not come to Worms—he wished him to be condemned. Though he returned repeatedly to the charge, his vehement discourses made no converts. A conviction of Luther's innocence prevailed in the assembly, and Aleander could not restrain his indignation. But the coldness of the Diet did not try the patience of the legate so much as the coldness of Rome. Rome had no idea that a bull of the sovereign pontiff could prove insufficient to make Luther humble and submissive. She had accordingly resumed her wonted security, no longer sending either bull or purses of money. Writing to the cardinal, Aleander says, 'Germany is detaching herself from Rome, and the princes are detaching themselves from the pope. A few delays more, a few more attempts at compromise, and the matter is past hope. Money! Money! or Germany is lost.' At this cry Rome awakes; the servants of the papacy, laying aside their torpor, hastily forge the dreaded thunder at the Vatican. The pope issues a new bull; and the excommunication, with which till then the heretical doctor had been merely threatened, is in distinct terms pronounced against him and all his adherents. Rome herself, breaking the last thread which still attached him to her church, gave Luther greater freedom, and thereby greater power. *Thundered at by the pope, he, with new affection, took refuge in Christ. Driven from the external temple, he felt more strongly that he himself was a temple inhabited by God.* 'It is a glorious thing,' said he, 'that we sinners, in believing in Jesus Christ, and eating his flesh, have him within us with all his strength, power, wisdom and justice, according as it is written, "He who believeth in me, dwelleth in me, and I in him." Christians often stumble, and in external appearance are all feebleness and disgrace. But no matter, within this infirmity and folly dwells secretly a power which the world cannot know, but which overcomes the world; for Christ remaineth in them. I have sometimes seen Christians walking with a halt, and in great weakness; but when the hour of combat or appearance at the world's bar arrived, Christ of a sudden acted within them, and they became so strong and resolute that the devil in dismay fled

before them.' In regard to Luther, such an hour was about to peal, and Christ, in whose communion he dwelt, was not to forsake him.

"Meanwhile Rome naturally rejected him. The Reformer and all his partisans, whatever their rank and power, were anathematised, and deprived personally, as well as in their descendants, of all their dignities and effects. Every faithful Christian, as he loved his soul's salvation, was ordered to shun the sight of the accursed crew. Wherever heresy had been introduced, the priests were, on Sundays and festivals, at the hour when the churches were best filled, solemnly to publish the excommunication. They were to carry away the vessels and ornaments of the altar, and lay the cross upon the ground; twelve priests, with torches in their hands, were to kindle them and dash them down with violence, and extinguish them by trampling them under their feet; then the bishop was to publish the condemnation of the impious men; all the bells were to be rung; the bishops and priests were to pronounce anathemas and maledictions, and preach forcibly against Luther and his adherents." The voices of the seven thunders are here distinctly heard.

"Twenty-two days had elapsed since the excommunication had been published at Rome, and it was perhaps not yet known in Germany, when Luther, learning that there was again some talk of calling him to Worms, addressed the Elector in a letter written in such terms that Frederick might communicate it to the Diet. 'I rejoice with all my heart, most serene lord,' said he, 'that his imperial majesty means to bring this affair under consideration. I call Jesus Christ to witness that it is the cause of Germany, *of the Catholic church, of the Christian world, and of God himself; and not of any single man*, and more especially such a man as I. I am ready to repair to Worms, provided I have a safe-conduct, and learned, pious, and impartial judges. I am ready to answer—for it is not in a spirit of rashness, or with a view to personal advantage, that I have taught the doctrine with which I am reproached; I have done it in obedience to my conscience, and to the oath which, as doctor, I took to the Holy Scriptures; I have done it for

the glory of God, the safety of the Christian church, the good of the German nation, and *the extirpation of many superstitions, abuses, and evils, disgrace, tyranny, blasphemy, and impiety.*'

" This declaration, in the solemn circumstances in which Luther made it, is deserving of our attention. We here see the motives which influenced him, and the primary causes which led to the renovation of Christian society. These were something more than monkish jealousy or a wish to marry.

" But all this was of no importance in the eyes of politicians. How high soever the idea which Charles entertained of the imperial dignity, it was not in Germany that his interests and policy centred. He was also a duke of Burgundy, who, to several sceptres, added the first crown of Christendom. Strange! at the moment of her thorough transformation, Germany selected for her head a foreign prince, in whose eyes her wants and tendencies were only of secondary importance. The religious movement, it is true, was not indifferent to the young emperor, but it was important in his eyes only in so far as it menaced the pope. War between Charles and France was inevitable, and its chief seat was necessarily to be in Italy. An alliance with the pope thus became every day more necessary to the schemes of Charles. He would fain have either detached Frederick from Luther, or satisfied the pope without offending Frederick. Several of those about him manifested, in regard to the affairs of the Augustinian monk, that cold disdain which politicians usually affect when religion is in question. ' Let us avoid extremes,' said they, ' let us trammel Luther by negotiations, and reduce him to silence by some kind of concession. The true course is to stifle the embers, not to stir them up. If the monk is caught in the net we have gained the day. By accepting a compromise he will be interdicted and undone. For appearance, some external reforms will be devised; the Elector will be satisfied; the pope will be gained, and affairs will resume their ordinary course.'

" Such was the project of the confidential counsellors of

the emperor. The doctors of Wittenberg seem to have divined this new policy. 'They are trying in secret to gain men's minds,' said Melancthon, 'and are working in darkness.' John Glapio, the confessor of Charles V., undertook the execution of the project. The firmness of Pontanus, one of the Elector's counsellors, outwitted his insidious and well devised plans. This upright man was immovable as a rock in all negotiations. Not only were the confessor's artifices unavailing, but, moreover, his admissions confirmed Frederick in the belief that Luther was in the right, and that it was his duty to defend him. The hearts of men became every day more inclined towards the gospel. A prior of the Dominicans proposed that the emperor, the kings of France, Spain, England, Portugal, Hungary, and Poland, the pope, and the electors, should name representatives by whom the matter should be decided. 'Never,' said he, 'has reference been made to the pope alone.' The general feeling became such, that it seemed impossible to condemn Luther without a hearing and regular conviction. Aleander became uneasy, and displayed more than wonted energy. It is no longer against the Elector and Luther only that he has to contend. He is horrified at the secret negotiations of the confessor, the proposition of the prior, the consent of Charles' ministers, and the extreme coldness of Roman piety among the most devoted friends of the pope, 'so that one would have thought,' says Pallavicini, 'that a torrent of ice had passed over them.' He had at length received gold and silver from Rome, and held in his hand energetic briefs addressed to the most powerful personages in the empire. Afraid that his prey might escape, he felt that now was the time to strike a decisive blow. He dispatched the briefs, showered gold and silver with liberal hand, dealt out the most enticing promises, 'and provided,' says the cardinal historian, 'with this triple weapon, he strove anew to turn the wavering assembly of the electors in favour of the pope.' He laboured, above all, to encircle the emperor with his snares. 'Every day,' wrote the Elector to his brother John, 'deliberations are held against Luther; the demand is that he be put under the ban of the

pope and the emperor; in all sorts of ways attempts are made to hurt him. Those who parade about with their red hats, the Romans, with all their sect, labour in the task with indefatigable zeal.' In fact, Aleander urged the condemnation of the Reformer with a violence which Luther terms, 'marvellous fury.' The apostate nuncio, as Luther calls him, hurried by passion beyond the bounds of prudence, one day exclaimed, 'If you mean, O Germans, to shake off the yoke of Roman obedience, we will act so, that, setting the one against the other, as an exterminating sword, you will all perish in your own blood.' 'Such,' adds the Reformer, 'is the pope's method of feeding the sheep of Christ.'

"Luther himself spoke a very different language. He made no demand of a personal nature. 'Luther is ready,' said Melancthon, 'to purchase the glory and advancement of the gospel with his life.' But Luther trembled at the thought of the disasters of which his death might be the signal. He saw a people led astray, and perhaps avenging his martyrdom in the blood of his enemies, especially the priests. He recoiled from the fearful responsibility. 'God,' says he, 'arrests the fury of his enemies, but should it break forth, a storm will burst upon the priests similar to that which ravaged Bohemia. I am clear of it; for I have earnestly besought the German nobility to arrest the Romans by wisdom, and not by the sword. To war upon priests, a body without courage and strength, is to war upon women and children.'

"Charles did not withstand the solicitations of the nuncio. The pope had addressed a brief to him imploring him to give legal effect to the bull by an imperial edict. 'In vain,' said he to him, 'shall God have invested you with the sword of supreme power, if you do not employ it both against infidels, and also against heretics, who are far worse than infidels.'

"One day, accordingly, in the beginning of February, at the moment when everything was ready at Worms for a brilliant tournament, the princes who were preparing to attend the *fête* were summoned to repair to the imperial

palace. There the papal bull was read to them, and they were presented with a stringent edict enjoining the execution of it. 'If you have anything better to propose,' added the emperor, in the usual form, 'I am ready to hear you.' Animated debates then began in the Diet. 'The monk,' wrote the deputy of one of the German free towns, 'gives us a great deal to do. Some would like to crucify him, and I don't think that he will escape; the only thing to be feared is that he may rise again on the third day.'

"The emperor had thought he would be able to publish his edict without opposition on the part of the states; but it was not so. Men's minds were not prepared, and it was necessary to gain the Diet. 'Convince this assembly,' said the young monarch to the nuncio. This was just what Aleander desired; and he received a promise of being admitted to the Diet on the 13th February. The nuncio prepared for the solemn audience. The friends of the Reformation looked forward to the sitting, not without fear. The Elector, under the pretext of indisposition, kept away; but he ordered some of his counsellors to attend and give heed to the nuncio's address. On the appointed day, Aleander proceeded to the hall of the assembled princes. Men's minds were excited; several thought of Annas or Caiaphas repairing to Pilate's judgment hall to demand the life of him who was 'perverting the nation.' Never had Rome been called on to make her apology before so august an assembly. The nuncio placed before him the judicial documents which he judged necessary—the works of Luther, and the papal bull. Silence was called. After speaking for three hours, the nuncio ceased. The torrent of his eloquence had moved the assembly. 'The princes, shaken and alarmed,' says Cochläeus, 'looked at each other; and murmurs were soon heard from different quarters against Luther and his partisans.' Had the mighty Luther been present, the effect of the nuncio's harangue would have been neutralised at the time of its delivery; but nobody rose to speak. The assembly remained under the impression of the address, and, excited and carried away, showed themselves ready violently to eradicate the heresy of Luther from the

soil of the empire. Still the victory was only apparent. The greatest of her orators had addressed the assembled princes, and said all that Rome had to say. But the last effort of the papacy was the very thing which was destined to become, in regard to several of those who witnessed it, the signal of her defeat. If, in order to secure the triumph of truth, it is necessary to proclaim it aloud, so, in order to secure the destruction of error, it is sufficient to publish it without reserve. Neither the one nor the other, in order to accomplish its course, should be concealed. The light judges all things. A few days sufficed to wear off these first impressions, as always happens when an orator shrouds the emptiness of his arguments in high sounding phrases. The majority of the princes were ready to sacrifice Luther, but none were disposed to sacrifice the rights of the empire and the redress of German grievances. There was no objection to give up the insolent monk who had dared *to speak so loud*, but it was wished, to make the pope so much the more sensible of the justice of a reform which was demanded by the heads of the kingdom. Accordingly, it was the greatest personal enemy of Luther, duke George of Saxony, who spoke most energetically against the encroachments of Rome. Repulsed by the doctrines of grace which the Reformer proclaimed, he had not yet abandoned the hope of seeing a moral and ecclesiastical reform, and what irritated him so much against the monk of Wittemberg was, that he had spoiled the whole affair by his despised doctrines. But now, seeing the nuncio sought to confound Luther and the reform into one common condemnation, George suddenly stood up among the assembled princes, and, to the great astonishment of those who knew his hatred to the Reformer, delivered an oration, which he thus concludes:—‘Such are some of the crying abuses of Rome; all sense of shame has been cast off, and one thing only is pursued—money! money! Hence preachers, who ought to teach the truth, now do nothing more than retail lies—lies, which are not only tolerated, but recompensed, because, the more they lie, the more they gain. From this polluted well comes forth all the polluted water. Debauchery goes

hand in hand with avarice. Ah ! the scandals caused by the clergy precipitate multitudes of poor souls into eternal condemnation. There must be a universal reform, and this reform must be accomplished by a general council. Wherefore, most excellent princes and lords, with submission, I implore you to lose no time in the consideration of this matter.'

"Several days after Aleander's address, duke George produced the list of grievances which he had enumerated. This important document is preserved in the archives of Weimar. Luther had not spoken more forcibly against the abuses of Rome, but he had done something more. The duke pointed out the evil ; Luther had, along with the evil, pointed out both the cause and the cure. The duke spoke the language of a secular prince—Luther, the language of a reformer. The great sore of the church was that she had devoted herself entirely to externals; had made all her works and her graces to consist of outward and material things. Indulgences had carried this to its extreme point, and pardon, the most spiritual thing in Christianity, had been purchased in shops like meat and drink. The great work of Luther consisted in his availing himself of this extreme point in the degeneracy of Christendom, in order to bring back the individual and the church to the primitive source of life, and to re-establish the reign of the Holy Spirit within the sanctuary of the heart. Here, as often happens, the cure sprung out of the disease, and the two extremes met. Henceforward the church, which during so many ages had been developed externally by ceremonies, observances, and human practices, began *again* to be developed within by faith, hope, and charity.

"The duke's address produced the greater effect from his opposition to Luther being well known. Other members of the Diet stated different grievances. The Diet appointed a commission to collect all these grievances. Their number was found to be a hundred and one. A deputation consisting of secular and ecclesiastical princes, presented the list to the emperor, imploring him to give redress, as he had engaged to do at his election. 'How many Christian souls

are lost,' said they to Charles V. 'How many depredations, how much extortion, are caused by the scandals with which the spiritual chief of Christendom is environed? Therefore, we all, in a body, supplicate you most humbly, but also most urgently, to ordain a general reformation, to undertake it, and to accomplish it.' There was, at this time, in Christian society, *an unseen power* influencing princes and their subjects, a wisdom from above dragging forward even the adversaries of the Reformation, and preparing that emancipation whose appointed hour had at length arrived. Charles could not be insensible to these remonstrances of the empire. Neither himself nor the nuncio had expected them. His confessor had even denounced the vengeance of heaven against him if he did not reform the church. The emperor immediately withdrew the edict which ordered Luther's writings to be committed to the flames in every part of the empire, and in its place substituted a provisional order remitting these books to the magistrates.

"This did not satisfy the assembly, who were desirous that the Reformer should appear. Aleander, alarmed, immediately set himself to the task of preventing the Reformer's compearance. He went from the ministers of Charles to the princes who were disposed to favour the pope, and from these princes to the sovereign himself. 'It is unlawful,' said he, 'to bring into question what the sovereign pontiff has decided. Will not the power of this audacious man, will not the fire of his eye and the eloquence of his tongue, and *the mysterious spirit which animates him,*'" (this, from the mouth of his enemy, observe) "'be sufficient to excite some sedition? Several already venerate him as a saint, and you everywhere meet with his portrait surrounded *with a halo of glory, as round the head of the blessed.* If it is determined to cite him, let it be without giving him the protection of public faith.' These last words were meant to frighten Luther, or prepare his ruin.

"The nuncio found easy access to the grandees of Spain. Luther had not been as yet called to appear, and yet his mere name was already agitating all the grandees of Christendom then assembled at Worms. The man who was thus agitating

the mighty of the earth was the only one who seemed to be at peace. He was not allowed to remain tranquil in his retreat. Spalatin, in conformity to the orders of the Elector, sent him a note of the articles of which it was proposed to demand a retractation from him. 'Fear not,' he wrote to Spalatin, 'that I will retract a single syllable, since their only argument is to insist that my writings are opposed to the rites of what they call the church. If the emperor Charles summons me merely for the purpose of retracting, I will answer him that I will remain here; but if, on the contrary, the emperor chooses to summon me in order that I may be put to death, I am ready to repair at his call; for, with the help of Christ, I will not desert his word on the battle-field. I know it: these bloody men will never rest till they have deprived me of life. Oh, that none but papists would become guilty of my blood.'

"At length the emperor decided. Charles V. resolved to cite him, without giving him a safe-conduct. Here Frederick again began to act as his protector. Everybody saw the danger which threatened the Reformer. 'Luther's friends,' says Cochläeus, 'were afraid that he would be delivered up to the pope, or that the emperor himself would put him to death as unworthy, on account of his obstinate heresy, that any faith should be kept with him.' On this subject there was a long and keen debate among the princes. Struck at last with the general agitation then prevailing almost throughout the whole population of Germany, and afraid that, as Luther passed along, some sudden tumult or dangerous sedition might break forth, the princes deemed it wise to calm men's minds on his account, and not only the emperor, but also the Elector of Saxony, duke George, and the landgrave of Hesse, through whose states he had to pass, each gave him a safe-conduct.

On the 6th March, 1521, Charles V. signed the following summons, addressed to Luther:— 'Charles, by the grace of God, elected Roman emperor, always Augustus, etc., etc. Honourable, dear and pious! We, and the states of the holy empire, having resolved to make an inquest touching the doctrine and the books which you have published for some

time past, have given you, to come here and return to a place of safety, our safe-conduct and that of the empire. Our sincere desire is that you immediately prepare for this journey, in order that, in the space of twenty-one days mentioned in our safe-conduct you may be here certainly, and without fail. Have no apprehension of either injustice or violence. We will firmly enforce our safe-conduct, and we expect that you will answer to our call. In so doing you will follow our serious advice. Given at our imperial city of Worms, the sixth day of March, in the year of our Lord, 1521, and in the second of our reign — Charles.' Gaspard Sturm was employed to carry this message to the Reformer, and accompany him to Worms. The Elector, dreading the public indignation, wrote, on the 12th of March, to the magistrates of Wittemberg to see to the safety of the emperor's officer, and, if deemed necessary, to provide him with a guard. The herald set out.

"While these things were passing at Worms and Wittemberg, the papacy was reiterating its blows. On the 28th March, the Thursday before Easter, Rome resounded with a solemn excommunication. At this season, it is usual to publish the dreadful bull in *Cæna Domini*, which is a long series of imprecations. On that day, the avenues to the church in which the sovereign pontiff was to officiate were occupied at an early hour by the papal guards, and by a crowd of people, who had flocked from all parts of Italy to receive the benediction of the holy father. The square in front of the Basilisk was decorated with branches of laurel and myrtle; wax tapers were burning on the balcony of the church, and the ostensorium was raised upon it. All at once, bells make the air re-echo with solemn sounds; the pope, clothed in his pontifical robes, and carried in a chair, appears on the balcony; the people kneel, all heads are uncovered, the colours are lowered, the muskets grounded, and a solemn silence reigns. Some moments after, the pope slowly stretches out his hands, raises them towards heaven, then bends them slowly towards the ground, making the sign of the cross. The movement is repeated thrice, and the air echoes anew with the ringing of bells, which

intimate the pope's benediction to the surrounding country; then priests advance with impetuosity, holding lighted torches, which they reverse, brandish, and throw about with violence, to represent the flames of hell; the people are moved and agitated, and the words of malediction are heard from the height of the temple. The pontiff having finished his anathemas"—the seven thunders having again uttered their voices—"the parchment on which they were written was torn to pieces, and the fragments thrown to the people. Immediately there was a great rush among the crowd, all pressing forward, and striving to get hold of a morsel of the terrible bull. Such were the holy relics which the papacy offered to her faithful on the eve of the great day of grace of expiation. The multitude soon dispersed, and the vicinity of the Basilisk resumed its wonted stillness. Let us return to Wittemberg.

"It was the 24th of March. The imperial herald, Gaspard Sturm, having at length passed the gates of the town where Luther was, presented himself before the doctor, and put the summons of Charles V. in his hands. A grave and solemn moment for the Reformer. All his friends were in consternation. Still Luther was not troubled. 'The papists,' said he, on seeing the anguish of his friends, 'have no wish for my arrival at Worms, they only wish my condemnation and death. They are doing all they can at Worms to compel me to retract. Here then will be my retraction: I once said, that the pope was the vicar of Christ; now, I say that he is the enemy of the Lord, and the apostle of the devil.' And when he learned that all the pulpits of the Franciscans were resounding with imprecations and maledictions against him, he exclaimed, 'O, what wondrous joy it gives me.'

"Germany was moved at the thought of the dangers which threatened the representative of her people, and found a voice well fitted to express her fears. Ulric von Hütten shuddered at the thought of the blow about to be struck at his country, and on the 1st April wrote a patriotic and Christian letter direct to Charles V. The emperor paid no attention to it. He was a Fleming, and not a German.

Personal aggrandisement, not the liberty and glory of the empire, was the object of all his desires.

“The 2nd of April had arrived, and Luther behoved to take leave of his friends. He bade adieu to his colleagues. Turning to Melancthon, he said to him, in a tone which betrayed emotion, ‘If I do not return, and my enemies put me to death, O, my brother, cease not to teach, and remain firm in the truth. Labour in my stead. If you live, it matters little though I perish.’ Then committing himself to the hand of Him who is faithful and true, Luther took his seat and quitted Wittemberg. The imperial herald, clad in his insignia, and wearing the imperial eagle, was on horseback in front, followed by his servant. Next followed Luther, Schurff, Armsdorff and Suaven in their carriage. The friends of the gospel, the citizens of Wittemberg, in deep emotion, were invoking God, and shedding tears. Such was Luther’s departure. He soon observed that the hearts of those whom he met were filled with gloomy forebodings. At Leipsic no honour was paid to him. At Naumburg he met a priest, who held out to him the portrait of the famous Jerome, who was burnt at Florence in 1498. ‘It is Satan,’ said he, ‘who, by these terrors, would fain prevent a confession of the truth from being made in the assembly of princes, because he foresees the blow which this will give to his kingdom.’ ‘Adhere firmly to the truth which thou hast perceived,’ said then the priest to him, gravely, ‘and thy God will also adhere firmly to thee.’ Next evening, he arrived at Weimar. He was scarcely a moment there, when he heard loud cries in all directions. They were publishing his condemnation. ‘Look,’ said the herald to him. He beheld imperial messengers traversing the town, and posting up the imperial edict, which ordered his writings to be laid before the magistrates. Luther had no doubt that these harsh measures were exhibited beforehand to deter him from coming, that he might afterwards be condemned for having refused to appear. ‘Well, doctor, will you go on?’ said the imperial herald to him in alarm. ‘Yes,’ replied Luther, ‘though put under interdict in every town, I will go on; I confide in the emperor’s safe-conduct.’

At Weimar, Luther had an audience of the Elector's brother, duke John. The duke gave Luther the money necessary for his journey. From Weimar the Reformer proceeded to Erfurt. He was still three or four leagues off, when he was met by members of the senate, the university, and the municipality, all on horseback, to the number of forty, who saluted him with acclamations. A multitude of the inhabitants of Erfurt covered the road, and gave loud expression to their joy. All were eager to see the *mighty* man who had ventured to declare war against the pope. Luther set out from Erfurt and passed through Gotha. Wherever he passed the people flocked to see him. His journey was a kind of triumphal procession. An immense concourse surrounded him. 'Ah,' said some of them to him, 'there are so many cardinals and so many bishops at Worms, they will burn you; they will reduce your body to ashes, as was done with that of John Huss.' But nothing terrified the monk. 'Were they to make a fire,' said he, 'that would extend from Worms to Wittemberg, and reach even to the sky, I would walk across it in the name of the Lord; I would appear before them; I would walk into the jaws of this Behemoth, and break his teeth, and confess the Lord Jesus Christ.' One day, while just going to an inn, and while the crowd were as usual pressing around him, an officer came up to him and said, 'Are you the man who undertakes to reform the papacy.' 'Yes,' replied Luther, 'I am the man. I confide in Almighty God, whose word and command I have before me.' The officer, affected, gave him a milder look, and said, 'Dear friend, there is something in what you say; I am the servant of Charles, but your master is greater than mine. He will aid and guard you.'

"Such was the impression which Luther produced. Even his enemies were struck at the multitudes that thronged around him, though they have painted the journey in different colours. At length the doctor arrived at Frankfort, on Sunday, 14th April. Luther, on his arrival at Frankfort, took some repose, and then announced his approach to Spalatin, who was at Worms with the Elector.

‘I am getting on,’ says he, ‘though Satan has striven to stop me. I learn that Charles has published an edict to frighten me. But Christ lives, and we shall enter Worms in spite of all the barriers of hell, and all the powers of the air. Therefore make ready my lodging.’

“There was great alarm in the camp of the pope’s friends. The heresiarch was at hand, every day, every hour brought him nearer Worms. If he entered, all perhaps was lost. The archbishop Albert, the confessor Glapio, and all the politicians about the emperor felt uneasy. How can the arrival of this monk be prevented? It is impossible to carry him off, for he has the emperor’s safe-conduct. Stratagem alone can arrest him. These intriguers immediately arranged a scheme to detain him at Ebernburg. ‘Let Luther only be credulous enough,’ said they, ‘to go there; his safe-conduct will soon expire, and then who will be able to defend him?’ Their cunningly devised plot was defeated by Luther’s firmness. It is represented to him that it is all over with him, if he goes to Worms. A place of refuge is offered to him. The emperor’s confessor will have a conference with him there. But Luther hesitated not. ‘I continue my journey,’ was his answer, ‘and if the emperor’s confessor has anything to say to me, he will find me at Worms. I go where I am called.’

“Meanwhile Spalatin himself began to be troubled and afraid. Surrounded at Worms by the enemies of the Reformation, he heard them saying that no respect should be paid to the safe-conduct of a heretic. He became alarmed for his friend; and at the moment when the latter was approaching the town, a messenger presented himself and said to him, on the part of the chaplain, ‘Don’t enter Worms!’ This from his best friend, the Elector’s confidant, Spalatin himself. Luther, unmoved, turns his eye on the messenger, and replies, ‘Go and tell your master, that were there as many devils in Worms as there are tiles upon the roofs, I would enter.’ The envoy returned to Worms with his extraordinary message. ‘I was then intrepid,’ said Luther, a few days before his death, ‘I feared nothing; God can give man such boldness; I know not if at present I would have as

much liberty and joy.' 'When the cause is good,' adds his disciple Mathesius, 'the heart expands, giving energy and courage to evangelists and soldiers.'

"At length, on the morning of the 16th April, Luther perceived the walls of the ancient city. Two young noblemen, with six cavaliers, and other gentlemen in the suite of the princes, to the number of a hundred, galloped to meet him, and surrounded him in order to escort him at the moment of his entry. He approached. Before him pranced the imperial herald, decked in all the insignia of his office. Next comes Luther in his humble carriage, followed by the cavaliers. A large crowd was waiting in front of the gates. When the sentinel, stationed in the cathedral steeple, tolled the signal, everybody ran into the street to see the monk.

"Thus was Luther in Worms. Two thousand persons accompanied him through the streets. The crowd was increasing every moment, and was much larger than when the emperor made his entry. The train could scarcely proceed through the moving mass. At length the imperial herald stopped before the hotel of the Knights of Rhodes. Luther got out of his carriage, and on alighting said, 'The Lord will be my defence.' 'I entered Worms,' said he afterwards, 'in a covered car in my frock. Everybody ran into the street to see friar Martin.'

"The news of his arrival filled the Elector of Saxony and Aleander with alarm. Archbishop Albert, who held a mean between these two parties, was amazed at Luther's boldness. Charles V. immediately assembled his council. 'Luther is arrived,' said Charles, 'what must be done?' Mado, bishop of Palermo, replied, 'We have long consulted on this subject. Let your imperial majesty speedily get rid of this man. Did not Sigismund cause John Huss to be burnt? There is no obligation to give or observe a safe-conduct to a heretic.' 'No,' said Charles, 'what has been promised must be performed.' There was nothing for it, therefore, but to make the Reformer appear.

"Meanwhile the crowd continued around the hotel of Rhodes. Some looked upon Luther as a prodigy of wisdom, and others as a monster of iniquity. As soon as evening

came, counts, barons, knights, gentlemen, ecclesiastics, and citizens flocked in upon him. All, even his greatest enemies, were struck with the bold step he had taken, the joy which appeared to animate him, the power of his eloquence, and the lofty elevation and enthusiasm which made the influence of this simple monk almost irresistible. Many attributed this grandeur to something within him partaking of the divine, while the friends of the pope loudly declared that he was possessed with a devil.

“The next morning, the hereditary marshal of the empire summoned Luther to appear at four o’clock, p.m., in presence of his imperial majesty and the states of the empire. He received the summons with profound respect. Thus everything is fixed, and Luther is going to appear for Jesus Christ before the most august assembly in the world.

“He was not without encouragement. Ulric von Hütten wrote to him, borrowing the words of a king of Israel; ‘The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble; the name of the God of Jacob defend thee; send thee help from the sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Zion; remember all thy offerings, and accept thy burnt sacrifice. O dearly beloved Luther, fear not and be strong. The counsel of the wicked has beset you; they have opened their mouths upon you like roaring lions. But the Lord will rise up against the wicked and scatter them. Fight then valiantly for Christ. As for me, I will also fight boldly. Would to God I were permitted to see the wrinkling of their brows. But the Lord will cleanse his vine which the wild boar of the forest has laid waste. May Christ preserve you.’

“Four o’clock having struck, the marshal of the empire presented himself. Luther was ready. The herald walked first, after him the marshal, and last the Reformer. The multitude thronging the streets was still more numerous than on the previous evening. It was impossible to get on. At length the herald, seeing the impossibility of reaching the town hall, caused some private houses to be opened, and conducted Luther through gardens and secret passages to the place of meeting. The tops of the houses, the pavement, every place above and below, was covered with

spectators. Arrived at length, Luther and those who accompanied him were again unable, because of the crowd, to reach the door. Give way ! give way ! Not one stirred. At last the imperial soldiers forced a passage for Luther into the interior of the building which was completely filled with people. Luther advanced with difficulty. The celebrated general, George of Freundsberg, clapped him on the shoulder, and shaking his head, whitened in battle, kindly said to him, ‘ Poor monk, poor monk, you have before you a march, and an affair, the like to which neither I nor a great many captains have ever seen in the bloodiest of our battles. But if your cause is just, and you have full confidence in it, advance in the name of God, and fear nothing. God will not forsake you.’

“ At length, the doors of the hall being opened, Luther entered. Never had man appeared before an assembly so august. The emperor Charles V., whose dominions embraced the old and the new world ; his brother, the archduke Ferdinand ; six electors of the empire, whose descendants are now almost all wearing the crown of kings ; twenty-four dukes, the greater part of them reigning over territories of greater or less extent, and among whom are some bearing a name which will afterwards become formidable to the Reformation ; eight margraves ; thirty archbishops, bishops, or prelates ; seven ambassadors, among them those of the kings of France and England ; the deputies of ten free towns ; a great number of princes, counts, and sovereign barons ; the nuncios of the pope ; in all, two hundred and four personages. Such was the court before which Martin Luther appeared. Some of the princes, seeing the humble son of the miner of Mansfield disconcerted in presence of the assembly of kings, kindly approached him ; one of them said, ‘ Fear not them who can kill the body but cannot kill the soul.’ Another added, ‘ When you will be brought before kings, it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you.’ Thus the Reformer was consoled in the very words of his master, by the instrumentality of the rulers of the world.’

“ During this time, the guards were making way for

Luther, who advanced till he came in front of the throne of Charles V. The sight of the august assembly seemed for a moment to dazzle and overawe him. All eyes were fixed on him. The agitation gradually calmed down into perfect silence. After a moment of solemn stillness, the chancellor of the archbishop of Trèves, a friend of Aleander, rose up and said in a distinct and audible voice, first in Latin, and then in German, ‘Martin Luther, his sacred and invincible imperial majesty has cited you before his throne, by the advice and counsel of the states of the holy Roman empire, in order to call upon you to answer these two questions: First, ‘Do you admit that these books were composed by you?’ At the same time pointing to about twenty books lying on the table in the middle of the hall in the front of Luther. ‘Secondly,’ continued the chancellor, ‘do you mean to retract these books and their contents, or do you persist in the things which you have advanced in them?’ Luther’s counsel, Jérôme Schurff, hastily interfering, called out, ‘Read the titles of the books.’ The chancellor read them. The list contained some devotional works, not relating to controversy.

“After the enumeration, Luther said, first in Latin, and then in German, ‘Most gracious emperor! gracious princes and lords! His imperial majesty asks me two questions. As to the first, I acknowledge that the books which have been named are mine; I cannot deny them. As to the second, considering that is a question which concerns faith and the salvation of souls, a question in which the word of God is interested, in other words, the greatest and most precious treasure either in heaven or on the earth, I should act imprudently were I to answer without reflection. I might say less than the occasion requires, or more than the truth demands, and thus incur the guilt which our Saviour denounced when he said, “Whoso shall deny me before men, him will I deny before my Father who is in Heaven.” Wherefore I pray your imperial majesty, with all submission, to give me time that I may answer without offence to the word of God.’

“This reply, far from countenancing the idea that there

was any hesitation in Luther, was worthy of the Reformer and the assembly. His self-restraint; his calmness, extraordinary in such a man, increased his power a hundredfold, and put him into a position to answer afterwards with a wisdom, power, and dignity, which will disappoint the expectation of his enemies, and confound their pride and malice. Charles, impatient to know the man whose words shook the empire, had never taken his eye off him. Now, turning towards one of his courtiers, he said with disdain, 'Assuredly this is not the man who would ever make me turn heretic.' Then, rising up, the young emperor withdrew with his ministers to the council chamber; the electors with the princes were closeted in another, and the deputies of the free towns in a third. The Diet, when it again met, granted Luther's request. 'Martin Luther,' said the chancellor of Trèves, 'his imperial majesty, in accordance with his goodness which is natural to him, is pleased to grant you another day, but on condition that you give your reply verbally and *not in writing*.' Then the imperial herald advanced and reconducted Luther to his hotel. Menaces and cheers succeeded each other as he passed along. The most unfavourable reports were circulated among Luther's friends. 'The Diet is dissatisfied,' said they, 'the envoys of the pope triumph, the Reformer will be sacrificed.' Men's passions grew hot. Several gentlemen hastened to Luther's lodgings. 'Doctor,' asked they, in deep emotion, 'how does the matter stand? It is confidently said that they mean to burn you. 'That won't be,' continued they, 'or they shall pay for it with their lives.' On the other hand, Luther's enemies were quite elated. 'He has asked time,' said they, 'he will retract. When at a distance, he spoke arrogantly, but now his courage fails him. He is vanquished.' Luther perhaps was the only tranquil person in Worms.

"The 18th April having arrived, Glapio the emperor's confessor, the chancellor Eck, and Aleander met at an early hour by order of Charles V., to fix the course of procedure in regard to Luther. On this morning of the 18th April, Luther had moments of trouble, when the face of God was hid from him. His faith becomes faint; his enemies seem

to multiply before him; his imagination is overpowered. His soul is like a ship tossed by a violent tempest. At this hour of bitter sorrow, when he drinks the cup of Christ, and feels, as it were, in a garden of Gethsemane, he turns his face to the ground, and sends forth broken cries, cries which we cannot comprehend, unless we figure to ourselves the depth of the agony from which they ascended up to God. 'God almighty! God eternal! how terrible is the world! how it opens its mouth to swallow me up! and how defective my confidence in thee! How weak the flesh, how powerful Satan! If I must put my hope in that which the world calls powerful, I am undone! The knell is struck, and judgment is pronounced! O God! O God! O thou, my God! assist me against all the wisdom of the world! Do it! Thou must do it! Thou alone, for it is not my work, but thine. I have nothing to do here: I have nothing to do thus contending with the mighty of the world! I, too, would like to spend tranquil and happy days. But the cause is thine: and it is just and everlasting! O Lord! be my help! Faithful God! immutable God! I trust not in any man. That were vain. All that is of man vacillates. All that comes of man gives way. O God, O God, dost thou not hear? My God, art thou dead? No, thou canst not die! Thou only hidest thyself. Thou hast chosen me for this work. I know it! Act, then, O God! Stand by my side, for the sake of thy well beloved son Jesus Christ, who is my defence, my buckler, and my fortress.' After a moment of silence and wrestling, he continues thus:—'Lord, where standest thou? O, my God, where art thou? Come, come, I am ready! I am ready to give up my life for thy truth, patient as a lamb. For the cause is just, and it is thine! I will not break off from thee either now or through eternity. And though the world should be filled with devils, though my body, which, however, is the work of thy hands, should bite the dust, be racked on the wheel, be cut in pieces, ground to powder, my soul is thine. Yes, thy word is my pledge. My soul belongs to thee, and will be eternally near thee. Amen. O God, help me. Amen.' This prayer explains Luther and the Reformation. History here lifts the veil of

the sanctuary, and shows us the secret place whence strength and courage were imparted to this humble man, who was *the instrument of God* in emancipating the soul and the thoughts of men, and beginning a new era.

“ This meditation by one who is sacrificing himself to the cause of truth, is found among the collection of pieces relating to Luther’s appearance at Worms, under number XVI., among safe-conducts, and other documents of a similar description. Some of his friends doubtless extended it, and so have preserved it to us. In my opinion, it is one of the finest documents on record.

“ Luther, after he had thus prayed, found the peace of mind, without which no man can do anything great. He read the word of God; he glanced over his writings, and endeavoured to put his reply into proper shape. The thought that he was going to bear testimony to Jesus Christ and his word, in presence of the emperor and the empire, filled him with joy. The moment of appearance was drawing near; he went up with emotion to the sacred volume, which was lying on his table, *put his left hand upon it, and lifting his right toward heaven, swore to remain faithful to the gospel,* and to confess his faith freely, should he even seal his confession with his blood. After doing so, he felt still more at peace.

“ At four o’clock the herald presented himself and conducted him to the place where the Diet sat. The doctor was introduced, after waiting two hours in the court amidst an immense crowd. All minds were on the stretch waiting impatiently for the decisive moment which now approached. This time Luther was free, calm, self-possessed, and showed not the least appearance of being under restraint. Prayer had produced its fruits. The princes having taken their seats, Luther again standing in front of Charles V., the chancellor of the elector of Trèves rose up, and said:—
‘ Martin Luther, you yesterday asked a delay, which is now expired. Assuredly it might have been denied you, since every one ought to be sufficiently instructed in matters of faith to be able always to render an account of it to whosoever asks—you above all, so great and able a doctor of Holy

Scripture. Now, then, reply to the question of his majesty, Do you mean to defend your books out and out, or do you mean to retract some part of them?' These words, which the chancellor had spoken in Latin, he repeated in German. 'Then, doctor Martin Luther,' says the act of Worms, 'replied in the most humble and submissive manner. He did not raise his voice; he spoke not with violence, but with candour, meekness, suitableness, and modesty, and yet with great joy and Christian firmness.' He severally defended his books in which he treats of faith and good works, those composed against the papacy, and those written against private individuals; advanced the most powerful reasons for not retracting their contents; and concluded his reply by saying:—'Still I am a mere man and not God; and I will defend myself as Jesus Christ did. He said, "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil." How much more should I, who am but dust and ashes, and so apt to err, desire every one to state what he can against my doctrine? Wherefore, I implore you, by the mercies of God, you, most serene emperor, and you, most illustrious princes, and all others of high or low degree, to prove to me, by the writings of the prophets and the apostles, that I am mistaken. As soon as this shall have been proved, I will forthwith retract all my errors, and be the first to seize my writings and cast them into the flames. What I have just said shows clearly, I think, that I have well considered and weighed the dangers to which I expose myself; but far from being alarmed, it gives me great joy to see that *the gospel is now, as in former times*, a cause of trouble and discord.'" Luther here supplies an interesting comment on the angel's presentation of the little book to John, accompanied by the declaration "Thou must prophesy again before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings." He thus continues his reply:—

" 'This is the characteristic and the destiny of the word of God. "I come not to send peace, but a sword," said Jesus Christ. God is wonderful and terrible in working; let us beware, while pretending to put a stop to discord, that we do not persecute the holy word of God, and bring in

upon ourselves a frightful deluge of insurmountable dangers, present disasters, and eternal destruction. Let us beware that the reign of this young and noble prince, the emperor Charles, on whom, under God, we build such high hopes, do not only begin, but also continue and end under the most fatal auspices. I might cite examples taken from the oracles of God; I might remind you of the Pharaohs, the kings of Babylon, and of Israel, who never laboured more effectually for their ruin, than when by counsels, apparently very wise, they thought they were establishing their empire. If I speak thus, it is not because I think such great princes have need of my counsels, but because I wish to restore to Germany what she has a right to expect from her children. Thus, commending myself to your august majesty, and your serene highnesses, I humbly supplicate you not to allow the hatred of my enemies to bring down upon me an indignation which I have not deserved.'

"Luther had spoken these words in German, modestly, but also with much warmth and firmness. He was ordered to repeat them in Latin. The imposing assembly which surrounded the Reformer, the noise and excitement, had fatigued him. 'I was covered with perspiration,' says he, 'heated by the crowd, standing in the midst of the princes.' The confidential counsellor of the Elector of Saxony, stationed by his master's order behind the Reformer to take care that he was not taken by surprise or overborne, seeing the condition of the poor monk, said to him, 'If you cannot repeat your address, that will do, doctor.' But Luther, having paused for a moment to take breath, resumed, and pronounced his address in Latin, with the same vigour as at first. 'This pleased the Elector Frederick exceedingly,' relates the Reformer.

"As soon as he had ceased, the chancellor of Trèves, the orator of the Diet, said to him, indignantly, 'You have not answered the question which was put to you. You are not here to throw doubt on what has been decided by councils. You are asked to give a clear and definite reply. Will you or will you not retract?' Luther then replied, without hesitation, 'Since your most serene majesty, and

your high mightinesses, call upon me for a simple, clear, and definite answer, I will give it; and it is this. I cannot subject my faith either to the pope or to councils, because it is clear as day that they have often fallen into error, and even into great self-contradiction. If, then, I am not disproved by passages of Scripture, or by clear arguments; if I am not convinced by the very passages which I have quoted, and so bound in conscience to submit to the word of God, *I neither can nor will retract anything*, for it is not safe for a Christian to speak against his conscience.' Then, looking around on the assembly, before which he was standing, and which held his life in its hands. 'Here I am,' says he, 'I cannot do otherwise; God help me. Amen.'

"Luther thus pronounces these sublime words, which have not lost their thrilling effect after the lapse of three centuries; thus speaks the monk before the emperor and the magnates of the empire, and this poor and feeble individual alone, but leaning on the grace of the Most High, seems greater and stronger than them all. His word has a power against which all these mighty men could do nothing. The empire and the church on the one side, the obscure individual on the other, have been confronted. God had assembled these kings and prelates that he might publicly bring their wisdom to nought. The assembly were amazed. Several princes could scarcely conceal their admiration. The emperor, changing his first impression, exclaimed, 'The monk speaks with an intrepid heart and immovable courage.' The Spaniards and Italians alone felt disconcerted, and soon began to deride a magnanimity which they could not appreciate.

"After the Diet had recovered from the impression produced by the address, the chancellor resumed: 'If you do not retract, the emperor and the states of the empire will consider what course they must adopt towards an obstinate heretic.' At these words, Luther's friends trembled, but the monk again said, 'God help me, for I can retract nothing.' Luther then withdraws, and the princes deliberate. Every one felt that the moment formed a crisis in Christendom. Luther was recalled, and the orator thus

addressed him: 'Martin, you have not spoken with the modesty which became your office. The distinction you have made between your books was useless, for if you retract those which contain errors, the empire will not allow the others to be burnt. It is extravagant to insist on being refuted from Scripture, when you revive heresies which were condemned by the universal council of Constance. The emperor, therefore, orders you to say simply, Do you mean to maintain what you have advanced, or do you mean to retract any part of it—yes or no?' 'I have no other answer than that which I have already given,' replied Luther, calmly. He was now understood. There was no longer any hope. Spaniards, Belgians, and even Romans, were mute. The monk was victorious over earthly grandeur. He had negatived the church and the empire. Charles rose up, and all the assembly with him. 'The Diet will meet to-morrow morning to hear the emperor's decision,' said the chancellor, with a loud voice.

"Two imperial officers were ordered to accompany Luther. Some persons imagining that his fate was decided, and that they were conducting him to prison, which he should only leave for the scaffold, an immense tumult arose. Several gentlemen exclaimed, 'Are they taking him to prison?' On learning that the officers were only accompanying him to his hotel, the tumult calmed. Then some Spaniards of the emperor's household, following this bold champion, hissed and jeered at him as he passed along the streets, while others howled like wild beasts deprived of their prey. Luther remained firm and peaceful. Such was the scene at Worms.

"The intrepid monk, who had hitherto hurled defiance at his enemies, spake, when in the presence of those who had thirsted for his blood, with calmness, dignity, and humility. He was peaceful amid the strongest excitement; great, in the presence of all the princes of the world. In this we have an irrefragable proof that Luther was then obeying God,—not following the suggestions of his own pride. In the hall of Worms there was one greater than Luther and Charles. Jesus Christ has said, 'When they deliver you up,

take no thought how or what you shall speak. For it is not ye that speak.' Never, perhaps, was this promise so manifestly fulfilled. A deep impression had been produced on the heads of the empire. Luther had observed this, and it increased his courage. Several princes and nobles were gained to a cause which was maintained with such conviction. In some, it is true, the impression was evanescent, but, on the other hand, several, who till then had concealed their sentiments, henceforth displayed great courage. The Elector of Saxony, sending for Spalatin, said to him, with deep emotion, 'Oh! how well father Luther spoke before the emperor and all the states of the empire! My only fear was that he would be too bold.' Frederick then formed a resolution to protect the doctor in future with greater courage. Aleander saw the impression which Luther had produced. There was no time, therefore, to be lost. The young emperor must be induced to act vigorously. The moment was favourable, for there was an immediate prospect of war with France. Leo X., wishing to enlarge his estates, and caring little for the peace of Christendom, caused two treaties to be secretly negotiated at the same time, the one with Charles against Francis, and the other with Francis against Charles. Charles felt the importance of gaining over Leo, in order that he might have him as an ally against his rival of France. Luther was an easy price to pay for the friendship of the mighty pontiff. The day after Luther's appearance, he caused a message to be read to the Diet, which he had written in French, with his own hand. 'Sprung,' said he, 'from the Christian emperors of Germany, from the Catholic kings of Spain, the archdukes of Austria, and the dukes of Burgundy, who are all illustrious as defenders of the Roman faith, it is my firm purpose to follow the example of my ancestors. A single monk, led astray by his own folly, sets himself up in opposition to the faith of Christendom. I will sacrifice my dominions, my power, my friends, my treasure, my body, my blood, my mind, and my life, to stay this impiety. I mean to send back the Augustin, Luther, forbidding him to cause the least tumult among the people; thereafter I will

proceed against him and his adherents as against declared heretics, by excommunication and interdict, and all means proper for their destruction. I call upon the members of the states to conduct themselves like faithful Christians.'

"Two extreme views were immediately declared. The creatures of the pope, the elector of Brandenburg, and several ecclesiastical princes demanded that no regard should be paid to the safe-conduct which had been given to Luther. 'The Rhine,' said they, 'must receive his ashes, as a century ago, it received the ashes of John Huss.' Charles, if we may believe a historian, afterwards bitterly repented that he had not followed this dastardly counsel. 'I confess,' said he, towards the close of his life, 'that I committed a great fault in allowing Luther to live. Because I did not put him to death, the heresy has not ceased to gain strength. His death would have strangled it in the cradle.'

"This horrible proposition filled the Elector and all Luther's friends with terror. 'The execution of John Huss,' said the elector-palatine, 'brought too many calamities on Germany to allow such a scaffold to be erected a second time.' 'The princes of Germany,' exclaimed George of Saxony, himself the irreconcilable enemy of Luther, 'will not allow a safe-conduct to be violated. This first Diet, held by our new emperor, will not incur the guilt of an act so disgraceful. Such perfidy accords not with old German integrity.' The princes of Bavaria, also devoted to the church of Rome, joined in this protestation. The death scene which Luther's friends had already before their eyes appeared to be withdrawn. The rumours of these debates, which lasted two days, spread over the town. Parties grew warm. Pallavicini makes mention of four hundred nobles who were ready to maintain Luther's safe-conduct with the sword. Seckengen, it was said, had assembled at some leagues from Worms, behind the impregnable ramparts of his fortress, a large body of knights and soldiers, and only waited the issue of the affair that he might know how to act. The popular enthusiasm, not only in Worms, but also in the most distant towns of the empire, the intrepidity of

the knights, the attachment of several princes to the Reformer, all must have made Charles and the Diet comprehend that the step demanded by the Romans, might compromise the supreme authority, excite revolts, and even shake the empire. It was only a simple monk that they proposed to burn; but the princes and partisans of Rome, taken all together, had neither power nor courage enough to do it.

“On the Saturday’s sitting, the violent counsels of Aleander were negatived. The Diet shuddered equally at the consequences which would result from the triumph and from the destruction of the Reformer. Proposals of conciliation were heard, and it was suggested that a new attempt should be made with the doctor of Wittemberg. ‘I will not depart from what I have decreed,’ said the emperor, ‘but,’ added he, to the great scandal of Aleander, ‘I give this man three days to reflect; during this time anyone may, as an individual, give him suitable advice.’ This was all that was asked by the princes who had in a body solicited further negotiations. The Reformer, thought they, elevated by the solemnity of his public appearance, will yield in a more friendly conference, and perhaps be saved from the abyss into which he is ready to fall.

“The Elector of Saxony knew the contrary; accordingly he was in great fear. ‘If it were in my power,’ wrote he next day to his brother, duke John, ‘I would be ready to support Luther. They are bent on his ruin, and however slight interest anyone shows for his person, he is immediately decried as a heretic.’ Frederick, without showing the strong affection which he felt for the Reformer, contented himself with not losing sight of his movements. It was not so with men of all ranks then in Worms. Many fearlessly gave full vent to their sympathy. From the Friday, a crowd of princes, counts, barons, knights, gentlemen, ecclesiastics, laics, and common people surrounded the hotel where the Reformer lodged; they came in and went out, and could not see enough of him. Even those who doubted not that he was in error were touched by the nobleness of soul which had led him to sacrifice his life at the bidding of his conscience.

“One day a young prince came on horseback into the court of the hotel. It was Philip who had been reigning for two years in Hesse. Struck with Luther’s addresses, he wished to see him. He dismounted, and without formality came into the Reformer’s room, and addressing him, said, ‘Well, dear doctor, how goes it?’ ‘Gracious lord,’ replied Luther, ‘I hope it will go well.’ ‘From what I learn,’ resumed the landgrave, laughing, ‘you teach, doctor, that a wife may quit her husband, and take another when the former is found to be old.’ The people of the imperial court had told this story to the landgrave. ‘No, my lord,’ replied Luther, gravely, ‘let your highness not speak so, if you please.’ Whereupon the prince briskly held out his hand to the doctor, shook his cordially, and said, ‘Dear doctor, if you are in the right, may God assist you.’ On this he left the room, again mounted his horse and rode off. This was the first interview between these two men, who were afterwards to stand at the head of the Reformation, and to defend it, the one with the sword of the word and the other with the sword of kings.

“Luther was invited to the proposed conference. Aleander said to the dean of Frankfort, ‘Be present at the Archbishop’s of Trèves. Do not enter into discussion with Luther, but content yourself with paying the closest attention to everything that is said.’ The Reformer, on arriving with some friends at the house of the archbishop, found him surrounded by the margrave, Joachim of Brandenburg and Augsburg, several nobles, deputies from free towns, lawyers, and theologians. They urged him to retract in the most kindly manner. ‘The distinguished princes,’ said the chancellor of Baden, ‘now assembled take a particular interest in your safety. But if you persist, the emperor will banish you from the empire, and no place in the world will be able to offer you an asylum. Reflect on the fate which awaits you.’ ‘Most serene princes!’ replied Luther, ‘I give you thanks for your solicitude, for I am only a poor man, and am too humble to be exhorted by such high lords. My lessons, it is said, give offence; I answer that the gospel of Christ cannot be preached without offence. How then should

this fear or apprehension of danger detach me from the Lord, and from this divine word, which is the only truth? No, rather give my body, my blood, and my life!!' The princes and doctors having deliberated, Luther was re-called. The chancellor of Baden mildly resumed, 'It is necessary to honour princes even when they are mistaken, and to make great sacrifices to charity.' Then he said in a more urgent tone, 'Cast yourself upon the judgment of the emperor and have no fear.' Luther replied, 'I consent with all my heart, that the emperor, the princes, and even the humblest Christian, shall examine and judge my books; but on one condition, that they take the word of God for their standard. Men have nothing else to do but to obey. My conscience is dependent upon it, and I am captive under its authority.' 'I understand you perfectly, doctor. You will not acknowledge any judge but the Holy Scripture?' said the elector of Brandenburg. 'Yes, my lord, exactly. That is my last word,' said Luther.

"The princes and doctors withdrew, but the worthy archbishop of Trèves could not resolve to abandon his undertaking. He again exhorted him. 'Why incessantly appeal to the Holy Scriptures?,' asked his chancellor, John Eck, 'out of it all heresies have sprung.' 'But Luther,' says his friend, Mathesius, 'remained immovable, like a rock resting on the true rock, the word of the Lord.'

"The archbishop of Trèves repaired to the Diet, and announced the ill success of his mediation. The surprise of the young emperor equalled his indignation. 'It is time,' said he, 'to put an end to this affair.' The archbishop asked two days more, and the whole Diet seconded him. Charles V. yielded. Aleander, transported with rage, uttered the bitterest invectives. Proposal followed proposal from the anxious mediators, but Luther yielded not. The immovable firmness, the stern rectitude of Luther, are, no doubt, astonishing, but they will be comprehended and respected by all who know the claims of God. Seldom has a nobler homage been paid to the immutable word of heaven, and that at the risk of life and liberty by the man who paid it. 'Well,' said the archbishop to Luther, 'do you

yourself point out a remedy.' 'My lord,' says Luther, 'I know no other than that of Gamaliel. If this counsel, or this work be of men, it will come to nought, but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God. Let the emperor, the electors, the princes, and the states of the empire deliver this answer to the pope.' 'At least retract some articles,' said the archbishop. 'Provided it be not those which the council of Constance condemned,' replied Luther. 'Ah,' says the archbishop, 'I fear they are the very ones which will be asked.' 'Then sooner sacrifice my body and my life,' replied Luther, firmly, 'better allow my legs and arms to be cut off than abandon the clear and genuine word of God.' The archbishop at length understood Luther. 'You may withdraw,' says he to him. 'Your lordship,' resumed Luther, 'will be so good as to see that his majesty cause the safe-conduct necessary for my return to be expedited.' 'I will see to it,' replied the archbishop, and they parted. Luther withdrew in company with Spalatin, who had arrived at the archbishop's during the course of the visit.

"Luther had not been three hours at his hotel before the chancellor John Eck and the emperor's chancellor, with a notary, made their appearance. The chancellor said to him, 'Martin Luther, his imperial majesty, the electors, princes, and states of the empire, having exhorted you to submission again and again, and in various manners, but always in vain, the emperor, in his quality of advocate and defender of the Catholic faith, sees himself obliged to take other steps. He therefore orders you to return to your home in the space of twenty-one days, and prohibits you from disturbing the public peace by the way, either by preaching or writing.' Luther was well aware that this message was the first step in his condemnation. 'It has happened as Jehovah pleased,' said he, meekly, 'Blessed be the name of Jehovah.' Then he added, 'Before all things, very humbly and from the bottom of my heart, I thank his majesty, the electors, princes, and other states of the empire, for having listened to me with so much kindness. I have desired, and do desire one thing only—a reformation of the church

agreeably to Holy Scripture. I am ready to do everything in humble submission to the will of the emperor. Life and death, honour and disgrace, are all alike to me: I make only one reservation—the preaching of the gospel; for, says St. Paul, “The word of God cannot be bound.”’ The deputies withdrew.

“On the morning of Friday (26th April) the Reformer’s friends and several nobles met at his lodgings. They were gratified at seeing the Christian constancy which he had opposed to Charles and the empire. They wished once more, perhaps for ever, to bid adieu to this intrepid monk. Now he must take leave of his friends, and flee far from them under a sky surcharged with storms. He wished to pass this solemn moment in the presence of God. He lifted up his voice, and blessed those who were around him. At ten o’clock, Luther quitted the hotel with the friends who had accompanied him to Worms. Twenty gentlemen on horseback surrounded his carriage. A great crowd accompanied him beyond the walls. The imperial herald, Sturm, rejoined him some time after at Oppenheim, and the following day they reached Frankfort. Luther, having thus escaped from these walls of Worms, which threatened to become his tomb, his whole heart gave glory to God. ‘The devil himself,’ said he, ‘guarded the citadel of the pope. But Christ has made a large breach in it; and Satan has been forced to confess that the Lord is mightier than he.’ ‘The day of the Diet of Worms,’ says Mathesius, ‘is one of the greatest and most glorious days given to the world before its final close.’ The battle fought at Worms re-echoed far and wide, and while the sound travelled over Christendom, from the regions of the north to the mountains of Switzerland, and the cities of England, France, and Italy, many ardently took up the mighty weapon of the word of God.” The church, having received the word of God from Luther’s hands, preached it before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings. The historian continues:—

“Luther was desirous to write once more to Charles V., being unwilling to confound him with guilty rebels. In his letter, he says, ‘God, who is the searcher of hearts, is my

witness, that I am ready with all diligence to obey your majesty, whether in honour or disgrace; whether by life or by death, and with absolutely no exception but the word of God, from which man derives life. In all the affairs of my present life, my fidelity will be immutable, for as to these, loss or gain cannot at all affect salvation. But, in regard to eternal blessings, it is not the will of God that man should submit to man. Subjection in the spiritual world constitutes worship, and should be paid only to the Creator.' Luther also addressed a letter, but in German, to the states of the empire. It was nearly the same in substance, as that to the emperor. It contained an account of all that had taken place at Worms. The letter was repeatedly printed and circulated all over Germany. 'Everywhere,' says Cochläus, 'it excited the popular indignation against the emperor and the dignified clergy.' Early next day, he sent back the herald, Sturm, who had been won to the gospel.

"At Worms, the aspect of affairs had changed. Aleander seemed to reign supreme. 'Luther has nothing before him but exile,' wrote Frederick to his brother duke John. 'Nothing can save him. If God permits me to return, I will have things almost incredible to tell you. Not only Annas and Caiaphas, but also Pilate and Herod have leagued against him.'

"Frederick, having little wish to remain longer, left Worms. The elector-palatine and the archbishop-elect of Cologne did the same. Princes of less elevated rank imitated them. Deeming it impossible to avert the blow which was about to be struck, they preferred, perhaps erroneously, to abandon the place. The Spaniards, Italians, and the most Ultra-Montane of the German princes alone remained. The field was free, and Aleander triumphed. He laid before Charles the draft of an edict, which he intended should serve as the model of that which the Diet was to issue against the monk. The nuncio's labour pleased the irritated emperor. He assembled the remains of the Diet, and caused Aleander's edict to be read to them. All who were present (so says Pallavicini) approved it.

“ The next day, the day of a great festival, the emperor was in the church surrounded by the nobility of his court. The religious solemnity was finished. Aleander, clad in all the insignia of his rank, approached Charles V. He held in his hand two copies of the edict against Luther, the one in Latin, and the other in German; and, kneeling down before his majesty, implored him to append his signature and the seal of the empire. The emperor took the pen and signed. Aleander went off in triumph, put the decree immediately to press, and sent it all over Christendom. Pallavicini himself informs us that this edict, though dated 8th May, was signed later, but was antedated, to make it be supposed that it was executed during the time when all the members of the Diet were actually assembled. ‘We Charles the Fifth,’ said the emperor (then followed all his titles), ‘to all the electors, princes, prelates and others, whom it may concern. The Almighty having entrusted to us, for the defence of his holy faith, more kingdoms and power than he gave to any of our predecessors, we mean to exert ourselves to the utmost to prevent any heresy from arising to pollute our holy empire. The Augustin monk, Martin Luther, though exhorted by us, has rushed like a madman against the holy church, and sought to destroy it by means of books filled with blasphemy. He has, in a shameful manner, insulted the imperishable law of holy wedlock. He has striven to excite the laity to wash their hands in the blood of priests; and, overturning all obedience, has never ceased to stir up revolt, division, war, murder, theft, and fire, and to labour completely to ruin the faith of Christians. In a word, to pass over all his other iniquities in silence, this creature, who is not a man, but Satan himself under the form of a man, covered with the cowl of a monk, has collected into one stinking pool all the worst heresies of past times, and has added several new ones of his own. We have, therefore, sent this Luther from before our face, that all pious and sensible men may regard him as a fool, or a man possessed of the devil; and we expect that, after the expiry of his safe-conduct, effectual means will be taken to arrest his

furious rage. Wherefore, under pain of incurring the punishment due to the crime of treason, we forbid you to lodge the said Luther so soon as the fatal term shall be expired, to conceal him, give him meat or drink, and lend him, by word or deed, publicly or secretly, any kind of assistance. We enjoin you, moreover, to seize him, or cause him to be seized, wherever you find him, and bring him to us without delay, or to keep him in all safety until you hear from us how you are to act with regard to him, and till you receive the recompence due to your exertions in so holy a work. As to his adherents, you will seize them, suppress them, and confiscate their goods. As to his writings, if the best food becomes the terror of all mankind as soon as a drop of poison is mixed with it, how much more ought these books which contain a deadly poison to the soul, to be not only rejected, but also annihilated. You will therefore burn them, or in some other way destroy them entirely. As to authors, poets, printers, painters, sellers or buyers of placards, writings, or paintings against the pope or the church, you will lay hold of their persons and their goods, and treat them according to your good pleasure. And if anyone, whatever be his dignity, shall dare to act in contradiction to the decree of our imperial majesty, we ordain that he shall be placed under the ban of the empire. Let everyone conform hereto.'

"Such was the edict signed in the cathedral at Worms. It was more than a Roman bull which, though published in Italy, might not be executed in Germany. The emperor himself had spoken, and the Diet had ratified his decree. All the partisans of Rome sent forth a shout of triumph. 'It is the end of the tragedy,' exclaimed they. 'For my part,' said Alphonso Valdez, a Spaniard at the emperor's court, 'I am persuaded it is not the end but the beginning.' Valdez perceived that the movement was in the church, in the people, in the age; and that though Luther should fall, his cause would not fall with him. But no one disguised to himself the imminent, the inevitable danger to which the Reformer was exposed, while the whole tribe of the superstitious were seized with horror at the thought of the incar-

nate Satan whom the emperor pointed out to the nation as disguised under a monk's frock.

“ The man, against whom the mighty of the earth were thus forging their thunders, had left Eisenach, and was preparing to separate from some of his dearest friends. He did not wish to follow the road of Gotha or Erfurt, but to repair to the village of Mora, his father's birthplace, that he might there see his aged grandmother, who died four months after, his uncle, Henry Luther, and other relations. Three of his friends set off for Wittenberg; Luther mounted his vehicle with Amsdorff who remained with him, and entered the forest of Thuringia. The same evening he reached the village of his fathers. The poor old peasant clasped in her arms this grandson, who had just been showing front to the emperor Charles and pope Leo. Luther spent the next day with his family, happy in substituting this tranquil scene for the tumult at Worms.

“ On the following day, he resumed his journey, accompanied by Amsdorff and his brother James. In these lonely spots the Reformer's lot was to be decided. They were passing along the forest of Thuringia. As the carriage was in a hollow part of the road, near the old church of Glisbach, a sudden noise was heard, and at that moment five horsemen, masked and in complete armour, rushed upon the travellers. Luther's brother leapt from the vehicle, and ran off at full speed. The driver was for defending himself. ‘ Stop,’ cried one of the assailants, in a stern voice, and rushing upon him threw him to the ground. A second man seized Amsdorff, and prevented him from coming near. Meanwhile, the three other horsemen laid hold of Luther, keeping the most profound silence. They pulled him violently from the carriage, threw a horseman's cloak upon his shoulders, and placed him on a led horse. Then the other two quitted Amsdorff and the driver, and the whole leapt into their saddles, and in a twinkling disappeared in a dark forest with their prisoner. They at first took the road to Broderode, but they soon retraced their steps by a different road, and, without quitting the forest, made turnings and windings in all directions, in order to deceive those who might attempt

to follow their track. Luther, little accustomed to horseback, was soon overcome with fatigue. Being permitted to dismount for a few moments, he rested near a beech tree, and took a draught of fresh water from a spring, which is still called *Luther's spring*.

“ His brother James always continuing his flight, arrived in the evening at Wallershausen. The driver in great alarm had got up on his vehicle, into which Amsdorff also mounted, and urging on his horses, brought Luther's friend as far as Wittemberg. At Wallershausen, and Wittemberg, and the interjacent country, villages and towns all along the road, news of Luther's having been carried off were spread ; news which, while it delighted some, filled the greater number with astonishment and indignation. A cry of grief soon resounded throughout Germany—‘ Luther has fallen into the hands of his enemies.’

“ After the violent combat which Luther had been obliged to maintain, God was pleased to conduct him to a peaceful resting-place. The man, of whom the champions of Rome were always in pitiless pursuit, behoved for a time to disappear from the world. It was necessary that personal achievements should be eclipsed in order that the revolution about to be accomplished might not bear the impress of an individual. It was necessary that man should retire, and God alone remain, moving, by His Spirit, over the abyss in which the darkness of the middle age was engulfed, and saying—‘ Let there be light.’

“ Nightfall having made it impossible to follow their track, the party carrying off Luther took a new direction, and about an hour before midnight arrived at the foot of a mountain. The horses climbed slowly to its summit on which stood an old fortress surrounded on all sides, except that of the entrance, by the black forests of Thuringia. To this elevated and isolated castle, named the Wartburg, where the land-graves of old used to conceal themselves, was Luther conducted. The bolts are drawn, the iron bars fall, the gates open, and the Reformer clearing the threshold, the bars again close behind him. Burkard de Hund, lord of Allenstein, one of the horsemen withdraws ; another, John of

Berlepsch, provost of Wartburg, conducts Luther to the chamber which was to be his prison, and where a knight's dress and a sword were lying. The three other horsemen, dependants of the provost, carry off his ecclesiastical dress, and put on the other which had been prepared for him, enjoining him to allow his hair and beard to grow, in order that none even in the castle might know who he was. The inmates of the Wartburg were only to know the prisoner under the name of Chevalier Georges.

“Luther scarcely knew himself in the dress which was put upon him. At length he is left alone. From the narrow windows of his keep he discovers the dark, solitary, and boundless forests around. ‘There,’ says Mathesius, ‘the doctor remained, like St. Paul in his prison at Rome.’ Frederick de Thun, Philip Feilitsch, and Spalatin had not concealed from Luther, in a confidential interview which they had with him at Worms by order of the Elector, that his liberty behoved to be sacrificed to the wrath of Charles and the pope. Still there was so much mystery in the mode of his being carried off that Frederick was long ignorant of the place of his confinement. The grief of the friends of the Reformation was prolonged. Spring passed away, succeeded by summer, autumn, and winter; the sun finished his annual course, and the walls of the Wartburg still confined their prisoner. The truth is laid under interdict by the Diet; its defender, shut up within the walls of a strong castle, has disappeared from the stage of the world, none knowing what has become of him. Aleander triumphs and the Reformation seems lost; but God reigns, and the blow, which apparently threatened to annihilate the cause of the gospel, will serve only to save its intrepid minister and extend the light of faith.”

Thus is history and revelation found again to be in close correspondence. The change in the character of the prophecy has been met by a similar change in the records of history. The particular as well as general features of the third part of the sixth trumpet's announcements have been fully and remarkably illustrated. As the chief impersonator of the Apocalyptic angel, Luther has been exhibited charged

with the several characteristics attached to that mighty actor in the sacred drama, and as such, and also as the representative of the church generally, to have illustrated by his words and actions the particular as well as general scenes delineated in the vision.

The history of the Reformation is not concluded ; but from the time of Luther's imprisonment, that great movement is not carried forward by Luther so much as by a constituted and defined body, the fruits of his recorded exhortations and labours ; and as this result, implied by the terms already considered, will be illustrated when considering, in our next lecture, the fourth part of the sixth trumpet's announcements, we cannot be otherwise than impressed with the wonderful character of the prophetic book, which, in few words, so unmistakably reveals the marked events of the Christian era, and furnishes so clear an expression of the mind of God, whether of approval or condemnation, on the several dominant spirits of each successive age.

Without entering into a circumstantial account, which would be in effect but a repetition of illustrations already sufficient, we must hear D'Aubigné on the Reformation in other countries. He says :—

“ Let us leave Luther a captive in Germany on the heights of Wartburg, and let us see what God was then doing in the other countries of Christendom. At the moment when the decree of the Diet of Worms appeared, a continually increasing movement was beginning to shake the quiet valleys of Switzerland. The voice which was heard in the plains of upper and lower Saxony was answered from the bosom of the Helvetic mountains by the energetic voices of its priests, its shepherds, and the citizens of its warlike cities. The partisans of Rome, seized with terror, exclaimed that a vast and dreadful conspiracy was everywhere formed against the church. The friends of the gospel, filled with joy, said, that as in spring a living breath is felt from the streams which run into the sea up to the mountain tops, so, throughout all Christendom, the Spirit of God was now melting the ices of a long winter, and covering with verdure and flowers the lowest

plains as well as the steepest and most barren rocks. Germany did not communicate the truth to Switzerland, nor Switzerland to France, nor France to England. All those countries received it from God, just as one part of the world does not transmit the light to another part, but the same shining globe communicates it directly to all the earth. Christ, *the day-spring from on high*, infinitely exalted above all mankind, was, at the period of the Reformation, as at that of the establishment of Christianity, the Divine fire which gave life to the world. In the sixteenth century one and the same doctrine was at once established in the homes and churches of the most distant and diversified nations. The reason is, that *the same Spirit was everywhere at work producing the same faith*. The Reformation of Germany and that of Switzerland demonstrate this truth. Zuinglius had no intercourse with Luther. There was, no doubt, a link between these two men; but we must search for it above the earth. He who from heaven gave the truth to Luther, gave it to Zuinglius. God was the medium of communication between them. ‘I began to preach the gospel,’ says Zuinglius, ‘in the year of grace, 1516, in other words, at a time when the name of Luther had never been heard in our country. I did not learn the doctrine of Christ from Luther. If Luther preaches Christ, he does what I do, that is all.’

“But if the different reformations, which all proceeded from the same spirit, thereby acquired great unity, they also received certain peculiar features, corresponding to the different characters of the people among whom they took place. In Germany the ruling spirit was monarchical, in Switzerland it was democratic. In Germany, the Reformation had to struggle with the will of princes; in Switzerland, with the will of the people. The victory over the papacy on the other side of the Rhine was the work of years, but on this side of it, it required only months or days.

“In Germany, Luther’s person stands forth imposingly from the midst of his Saxon countrymen. He seems to struggle alone in his attack on the Roman Colossus, and wherever the battle is fought, we see his lofty stature on the field of battle—Luther is, as it were, the monarch of the

revolution which is being accomplished. In Switzerland, several cantons are at once engaged in the contest. We see a confederacy of Reformers, and are astonished at their numbers. No doubt there is one head which stands elevated above the rest, but no one has the command. It is a republican magistracy, where each presents his peculiar physiognomy, and exercises his separate influence. We have Wittemberg, Zuinglius, Capito, Haller, Œcolampadius. Again, we have Oswald Myconius, Leo Juda, Farel, and Calvin; and the Reformation takes place at Glaris, Bâle, Zurich, Berne, Neufchatel, Geneva, Lucerne, Schafausen, Appenzel, St. Gall, and in the Grisons. In the Reformation of Germany, one scene only is seen, and that one level like the country around; but in Switzerland, the Reformation is divided, as Switzerland itself is divided by its thousand mountains.

“In France, not only had the Reformation to combat infidelity as well as superstition, there was a third enemy which it had not encountered, at least in so powerful a form, among the Germanic nations,—I mean immorality. Everywhere, no doubt, but especially in France, the Reformation behoved to be not only doctrinal and ecclesiastical, but also moral. The violent enemies whom the Reformation thus encountered at the very outset among the French, stamped it with a peculiar character. Nowhere did it dwell so much in dungeons, and resemble primitive Christianity in faith and charity, and the number of its martyrs. If in the countries of which we have hitherto spoken, the Reformation was more glorious by its triumphs, in those to which our attention is now to be directed, it was rendered more glorious by its defeats. If elsewhere it can show more thrones and sovereign councils, here it can enumerate more scaffolds and meetings in the wilderness. Whoever knows what constitutes the true glory of Christianity on the earth, and the features which give it a resemblance to its Head, will, with a deep feeling of respect and love, study the history, the often times bloody history, of the Reformers and the Reformation in France. Before 1512, at a time when Luther had not yet acquired any distinction in the

world, at a period when Zuinglius had not even begun to devote himself zealously to sacred literature, and was crossing the Alps to fight for the pope, Paris and France heard the delivery of vital truths, out of which the Reformation was to spring, and minds fitted to propagate them were receiving them with holy avidity. Hence Theodore Beza, speaking of Lefevre of Etaples, hails him as the individual 'who courageously began *the revival* of the pure religion of Jesus Christ;' and he remarks that 'from the audience of the doctor of Etaples, proceeded several of the most distinguished men of their age and of the church.'

"The Reformation in France, therefore, was not a foreign importation. It had its birth on the French soil. We have seen that the Swiss Reformation was independent of the German Reformation. The French Reformation, was in its turn, independent of both. The work began at once in these different countries without any communication with each other. The time was accomplished, the people were prepared, and God began the renovation of the church in all quarters at once. Such facts demonstrate that the great revolution of the sixteenth century was a Divine work. The French Reformers were the first whom *the blast of the heavenly trumpet in the sixteenth century awoke*, and they were the first who appeared equipped and arrayed on the field of battle. Nevertheless Luther is the great workman of the sixteenth century, and, in the most extensive sense, the first Reformer."

Thus is the spirit of the Apocalyptic mighty angel seen moving the nations at one and the same time; and his angelic as well as human agency conspicuously exhibited in the annals of history. More complete Apocalyptic and historic correspondence could neither be desired nor obtained. D'Aubigné returning to Germany thus continues his history:—

"Four years had elapsed since an ancient doctrine had again been preached in the church. The great doctrine of salvation by grace, formerly published in Asia, Greece, and Italy by Paul and his brethren, and *again* after several centuries discovered in the Bible by a monk of Wittemberg,

had echoed from the plains of Saxony to Rome, Paris, and London, and the lofty mountains of Switzerland had repeated its energetic accents. The fountains of truth, liberty, and life had been again opened to humanity. But though all within was new, yet all without seemed to have remained as before. The constitution of the church, its ritual, and discipline, had not undergone any change. Everywhere the new gospel resounded beside the ancient ritual. There was a new faith in the world, but not new works. Luther seemed to consider it quite natural that, while men were receiving his writings with enthusiasm, they should at the same time remain devotedly attached to the abuses which these writings attacked. It might even be thought that he had traced out his plans beforehand, and resolved to produce a change of minds before introducing a change of forms. This, however, were to ascribe to him a wisdom, the honour of which belongs to a higher source. He executed a plan which was not of his own devising. These matters he was able at a later period to acknowledge and comprehend, but he had not imagined them, and accordingly had not regulated them. God took the lead; Luther's part was to follow. A new era in the Reformation is about to commence. The truth is already re-established in doctrine, and doctrine is now going to re-establish the truth in all the forms of the church and of society. On those dogmas which have been so powerfully shaken, depend customs which are beginning to give way, and which must disappear along with them. Sacraments, ritual, hierarchy, vows, constitution, domestic life, public life, all are about to be modified. The ship which has been slowly and laboriously built, is about to leave the dock, and be launched on the vast ocean. The captivity of the Wartburg separates these two periods." It must be observed how the historian here prepares us for the formation of the visible true church, inferentially announced, as before noticed.

He then continues:—"Providence, which designed to give a mighty impulse to the Reformation, had prepared its progress by leading him who was selected to be the instrument of it into profound retirement. For a time the work

seemed buried with the workman; but the seed must be deposited in the earth in order to produce fruit; and from the prison, which seemed destined to be the Reformer's tomb, the Reformation is going to come forth to make new conquests, and rapidly diffuse itself over the whole world. Hitherto the Reformation had been concentrated in the person of the Reformer. His appearance before the Diet of Worms was undoubtedly the sublimest moment of his life. His character then appeared almost exempt from blemish, and hence it has been said, that if God, who hid the Reformer during ten months within the walls of the Wartburg, had, at that moment, withdrawn him for ever from the eyes of the world, his end would have been a kind of apotheosis. But God wills not an apotheosis for his servants; and Luther was preserved to the church in order that he might show, by his very faults, that the faith of Christians must be founded on the word of God alone. He was abruptly transported far from the scene where the great revolution of the sixteenth century was in course of accomplishment; the truth which he had for four years so powerfully preached continued in his absence to act upon Christendom, *and the work of which he was only a feeble instrument, thenceforth bore not the impress of man, but the seal of God himself.*"

In this and the following historic testimony, a confirmatory and interesting comment on the prophecy generally will be observed. It will be seen that the presentation of the little book by the angel to John is further illustrated by Luther's presenting his translation of the Bible to the people; accompanied, moreover, with an exhortation corresponding well with that of the angel to John, "Take it and eat it up;" and also, "Thou must prophesy again before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings." Luther is also exhibited in his twofold character of champion of the gospel in particular, and of the church generally; thus marking the period of transition from the one to the other: he is then shown to have taken his position in the church as one of her common members, his championship of the gospel being superseded by the power of the Bible

itself, now introduced, and destined, in the hands of the church, to fulfil to the enemies and treaders down of the truth, the punishment indicated by the symbolic "reed like unto a rod," with which the church is shown prophetically and historically to have been at this time invested. The historic accordance with the prophecy is therefore completed : the angel is shown by the latter to have retired to the temple of God, the place of the church in heaven, whilst Luther is shown by the former to have concluded the period of transition, and to have taken his place amongst the members of the church on earth.

The historian says in continuation :—"The moment had arrived when the Reformation was to pass from the speculations of theologians into private life, and yet the great instrument by which the transaction was to be effected, was not yet in existence. This wondrous and mighty engine, destined to assail the edifice of Rome from all quarters with bolts which would demolish its walls ; to lift off the enormous weight under which the papacy held down the half-suffocated church, and give to humanity itself an impulse which it should retain to the latest ages, was to come forth from the old castle of the Wartburg, and enter the world with the Reformer the very day when his captivity should terminate. The further the church was removed from the period when Jesus Christ, the true light of the world, dwelt in it, the more need she had of the lamp of the word of God, which was to transmit the brightness of Jesus Christ unimpaired to the latest ages. But this divine word was then unknown to the people. Attempts at translation from the vulgate, in 1477, 1490, and 1518 had succeeded ill, were almost unintelligible, and, from their high price, beyond the reach of the people. It had even been prohibited to give the Bible to the Germanic church in the vulgar tongue. Besides, the number of those able to read was inconsiderable, so long as there was no work in the German tongue of deep and universal interest. Luther was called to give the Scriptures to his country. The same God who withdrew St. John to Patmos, there to write his Revelation, had shut up Luther in the Wartburg to translate

his word. This great work, which it would have been difficult for him to undertake amid the distractions and occupations of Wittemberg, was destined to establish the new edifice on the primitive rock, and bring back Christians, after so many ages of scholastic subtleties, to the pure and primary source of redemption and salvation. The wants of the church pleaded strongly; they demanded this great work," ("And I went unto the angel, and said unto him, Give me the little book"), "and Luther was to be trained by his own deep experience for the performance of it. Faith in the word of God had made him free. The numerous and powerful links which had *for ages* chained and bound Christendom, were broken, destroyed, and scattered in fragments around him, and he nobly raised his head, free of everything, save the word. This independence of men, this submission to God, which he had learned in the Holy Scriptures, he wished the church to possess. But, in order to accomplish this, it was necessary to give her back the revelation of God. It was necessary that a mighty hand should throw back the ponderous gates of that arsenal of the word of God, in which Luther himself had found his armour, and that those vaults and ancient halls which no foot had traversed for ages, should be *again* opened wide to the Christian people for the day of battle.

"Luther had already translated different portions of the Holy Scriptures; the seven penitential psalms had been his first labour. Jesus Christ, John the Baptist, and the Reformation, alike began with the doctrine of repentance, which is the first beginning of renovation in the individual and in the race. These essays had been received with avidity; all wished for more; and this call from the people" (give me the little book) "was to Luther a call from God himself. He formed the design of responding to it. He was a captive behind high walls. True! He will employ his leisure in transferring the word of God into the language of his people. This word will shortly descend with him from the Wartburg; it will circulate among the population of Germany, and put them in possession of spiritual treasures. '*Let this single book,*' exclaims he, '*be in all tongues, in all*

hands, before all eyes, in all ears, and in all hearts,” or in other words, “Take it and eat it up, thou must prophesy again before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings.” “Admirable words!” says D’Aubigné, “which a distinguished society for translating the Bible into the language of all nations, is now, after three centuries, engaged in carrying into effect. Luther opened the Greek text of the evangelists and the apostles, and undertook the difficult task of making these inspired teachers speak his mother tongue—an important epoch in the history of the Reformation, *which was thenceforth no longer in the hand of the Reformer. The Bible came forward; Luther drew back; God showed himself and man disappeared. The Reformer has placed THE BOOK in the hands of his contemporaries. Every one can now listen to God himself. As for Luther, he from this time mingles in the crowd, and takes his place among those who come to draw at the common fountain of light and life.*”

We might now at once pass to the consideration of the fourth and last part of the sixth trumpet, were it not that it may be thought that the terms in the angel’s oath referring to the seventh trumpet’s sounding, though well illustrated in their general sense, have not been sufficiently so in their strictest sense. The illustration required was thus stated at the commencement of this lecture:—“The terms in their strictest sense signify that the events of the period would be identified with those foreshown by the voice of the angel of the sixth trumpet; and that the expectation would prevail and be proclaimed, that when the seventh angel sounded, the grand consummation of all things would immediately ensue.” It will be remembered that it was afterwards maintained, that the realization of those expectations was not foreshown, but simply that their prevalence and utterance would be a marked feature in the history of the age; and, by affording an imposing testimony to the grandeur of the effects caused by the gospel angel’s intervention, would sufficiently satisfy the propriety and force of the Apocalyptic terms.

The illustrations of every other subject comprised by the prophecy having been copious and conclusive, the following

historic records will be accepted as a fitting conclusion to our present lecture, inasmuch as the illustration of this subject also will form no exception to the general evidence produced of the continued correspondence between history and revelation.

The former has already spoken on the part of Luther and the German Reformers. On the part of the Swiss, Leo Juda, in his comment on the Apocalypse, written at this period, *applying the angel's oath to his own time*, says, "Christ taketh an oath and sweareth by God his Heavenly Father, even with great fervencie and holines, that the tyme of his glorious last comming to judge al the world, both quicke and dead, is now already nigh at hand; and that when the victory that was prophesied to be fulfilled of Antichrist (which victory the seventh angel must blowe forth according to his office) wer once past, then should altogether be fulfilled what al prophetes did ever prophesy of the kyngdom of Messias the Saviour; which is the highest mystery."

Bullinger says, about the same date, and on the same angel's oath, "Christ swears that there is but one trumpet remaining; therefore let us lift up our heads, because our redemption draweth nigh."

In England, Bishop Latimer says, in his third sermon on the Lord's prayer, "St. Paul saith, the Lord will not come till the swerving from the faith cometh; which thing is already done and past. Antichrist is already known throughout all the world. Wherefore the day is not far off. The world was ordained to endure, as all learned ones affirm, 6000 years. Now of that number there be past 5552 years, so that there is no more left but 448 years. Therefore all those excellent and learned men, whom without doubt God hath sent into the world in these latter days to give the world warning, do gather out of sacred Scripture that the last day cannot be far off."

Bale, in his work entitled *The Image of both Churches*, published 1545, commenting on the verse under consideration, says:—"Thus here we have what is done already, and what is yet to come under this sixt trumpet-blowing, *whereunder we are now*, which al belongeth to the second

wo. I doubt not but within fewe dayes, by the breath of Christ's mouth, which is his lyving gospel, the Antichrist shall be destroyed. All shall be finished in the seventh age of the church. Necessary it is that both good and badde know it; the faithful to be assertaned that their finall redemption is at hande, to their consolation; the unfaithfull to have knowledge that their judgment is not farre off, that they may repent and be saved." And, again, in another part he says:—"The Beast's will be the rule of this present age. No doubt of it. Unto kings had not God given to subdue these Beastes. This is reserved to the victory of his lyving word. Only shall the breath of his mouth destroy them. Let the faithfull beleever, considering the mischief of this time, appoint himself to persecution, loss of goods, exyle, prison, sorrow, death, for the truth's sake; thinking that his porcyon is in the land of the lyving. For now are the perilous dayes under the voice of the sixte trompe; whereas under the seventh the carnal church shall be rejected, Antichrist overthrown, and the right Israell, tokened with fayth, peaceably restored into the possession of God."

The martyrologist, John Foxe, also supplies his testimony. In his *Eicasm* in Apocalypsin, published in 1587, dwelling on the angel's oath, he says:—"O what an adjuration! Of the truth and certainty of which we can no more doubt, than we can of the existence of God himself. Which being so, let both all pious Christians, and all the multitude of the ungodly, diligently listen to and observe what the angel says and swears. For in the whole Scripture, I think, there is no passage more clear, none more suited to our times; none more calculated to strengthen the faith and minister consolation to the pious; and, on the other hand, to alarm the minds, and break off the attacks of the ungodly."

A body of religious fanatics which arose during the absence of Luther in the Wartburg, thus delivered their message:—"Woe, woe! A church governed by men so corrupt as the bishops cannot be the church of Christ. The wicked rulers of Christendom will ere long be overthrown.

In five, six or seven years universal desolation will burst forth. The Turk will seize upon Germany; all the priests, even those who are married, will be put to death. No wicked man, no sinner will be left alive; and after the earth shall have been purified by blood, God will set up his kingdom in it; Storck" (their leader) "will be put in possession of supreme authority, and will commit the government of the nations to saints. Henceforth there will be only one faith and one baptism. The day of the Lord is at hand, and we are touching on the end of the world. Woe! Woe! Woe!"

Thus we have abundant historic testimony, that an impression generally prevailed at this period of the near approach of the final consummation of all things; that such impression was publicly announced as certain and sure; and that the angel's oath in the prophecy was chiefly relied on as the authority for such announcement. The requirements of the third part of the prophecy are now, therefore, fully satisfied, so that we may pass to the consideration of its fourth part, with a feeling of security that so far our structure is firm and indestructible. This consideration we shall postpone to our next lecture.

LECTURE XIII.

THE SIXTH TRUMPET.

Fourth Part.

Rev. xi. 3 to 14. A.D. 260—1685.

WE have now to consider the fourth and last part of the voice of the angel of the sixth trumpet. It will be remembered that the terms terminating the third part were thus written, "And there was given me a reed like unto a rod; and the angel stood, saying, Rise and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein. But the court which is without the temple leave out, and measure it not; for it is given unto the Gentiles, and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months;" and that, when illustrating the same by history, it was stated that the "forty and two months," then interpreted "for ages past," would be more precisely defined when considering the subsequent part of the prophecy, in which a period of similar duration of time was noted. It was also then stated and shown that "the reed like unto a rod" signified severe punishment to the enemies and treaders down of the truth; or, we may say, on the combined authority of history and revelation, to the papacy. These two statements, therefore, demand our attention in addition to the terms now to be considered. The angel, still speaking to John in the temple and in continuation of the prophecy, says:—

"And I will give power unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days, clothed in sackcloth. These are the two olive trees, and the two candlesticks standing before the God of the earth. And if any man will hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies; and if any man will hurt them, he must in this manner be killed. These

have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy; and have power over waters to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues, as often as they will. And when they shall have finished their testimony, the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them. And their dead bodies shall lie in the street of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified. And they of the people, and kindreds, and tongues, and nations shall see their dead bodies three days and an half, and shall not suffer their dead bodies to be put in graves. And they that dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over them, and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another; because these two prophets tormented them that dwelt on the earth. And after three days and an half, the spirit of life from God entered into them, and they stood upon their feet; and great fear fell upon them which saw them. And they heard a great voice from heaven, saying unto them, Come up hither. And they ascended up to heaven in a cloud; and their enemies beheld them. And the same hour was there a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the city fell, and in the earthquake were slain of men seven thousand: and the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven. The second woe is past; and, behold, the third woe cometh quickly."

As the first impression conveyed by these terms will be found to be opposed to their true meaning, a few explanatory remarks are needed before proceeding to their interpretation. Enigmatical expression may be considered a law of prophetic language, and is not, therefore, a peculiarity confined to the present instance in which it is conspicuous. By such expression, the divine precepts are enforced—"Seek and ye shall find," Mat. vii. 7.—"Search for wisdom as for hid treasures," Prov. ii. 4 — and others of similar import in the word of God. Whenever, therefore, the meaning of a prophecy is apparently obvious to the most careless reader, great suspicion may be entertained that the true meaning lies concealed beneath it. This peculiarly applies to the terms now to be considered.

It will be seen that the greater part of the information now given to John is communicated verbally, and not, as heretofore, by visible representation. The angel has been previously shown to be speaking in the sanctuary simply as the medium by which the information was supplied, and to be without any personal characteristic. The locality of the sanctuary points out God himself to be the speaker by the mouth of his representative angel; and the terms of the prophecy, the true church to be the hearer by the ear of her representative John.

The first terms, "And I will give power unto my two witnesses," appear to enforce the conclusion as obvious, that the witnesses here referred to, are God's witnesses in the sense thereby generally understood, and that, as such, their history is carried on by the subsequent information. On close examination, however, this is found not to be the case. Here represented as witnesses to the truth of the assertion, previously made, that the holy city would be trodden under foot forty and two months, it will be seen that they might be either the representatives of the holy city trodden down, or of the Gentiles treading it down. The subsequent terms determine the alternative, by declaring them to be the latter in opposition to the natural conclusion that they were the former; which will appear by observing the different senses in which the term "God" is used in the prophecy.

In the part last considered, the Apocalyptic designation of the great Jehovah is, "Him that liveth for ever and ever, who created heaven and the things that therein are, and the earth and the things that therein are, and the sea and the things which are therein." It will be at once apparent, therefore, that due regard to the particularity of Apocalyptic language, with which we are now familiar, will not permit a similar interpretation, when used in the same figuration, of the terms, "God of the earth," "God of heaven" and "the spirit of life from God;" so that we may conclude, that in neither of these instances is the great Jehovah referred to; and that to each a separate signification is attached.

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Having had abundant evidence that the Apocalyptic earth represented the inhabitants of Roman territory, and the Apocalyptic heaven either their ecclesiastical or political systems, so the supreme heads of those systems, respectively, are consistently and acceptably indicated by the terms “God of the earth,” and “God of heaven;” of which it may be further said, that they are indeed the only terms by which those heads could be appropriately designated, for it will be seen, that had “the sun” been used, the only other term available for their figurative representation, the now perfect harmony of the prophetic picture would have been destroyed, and its meaning correspondingly obscured. In the absence of any declared characteristic, the sense in which the term is used in the remaining instance, “the spirit of life from God,” is not similarly obvious, but it becomes equally so on observing, that it is defined by the character of the witnesses into whom the spirit entered; and as it will be shown that those witnesses were the treaders under foot of “the holy city,” the power with which they were thus invested, may be properly interpreted to be that of their ecclesiastical or political head, without violating the force of the term “spirit of life,” which, unless due weight be given to the enigmatic and figurative exigencies of prophetic information, would point to a different signification. It may be also here stated, that precisely in the same sense, and for the same reason, the *favour and protection* of their ecclesiastical or political head is, with equal propriety, represented by the Apocalyptic *cloud* in which the witnesses subsequently ascended up to heaven.

Adopting for the moment the apparently obvious conclusion that “the two witnesses” are the representatives of “the holy city” as before noticed, and that their subsequent characteristic “clothed in sackcloth,” (to be again referred to), denoted the persecution and oppression under which they delivered their testimony, we are at once shown to be in error by the next terms, “These are the two olive trees and the two candlesticks standing before *the God of the earth;*” for, already informed that a candlestick is the Apocalyptic symbol of a church—Rev. i. 20, “The seven candlesticks

which thou sawest are the seven churches"—and as in Zech. iv. 14, the symbolic olive trees, there mentioned, are declared to be "the two anointed ones standing before the Lord of the whole earth;" and these anointed ones, under the Jewish ritual, being the priests and Levites, as in Deut. x. 8, "The Lord separated the tribe of Levi to stand before the Lord, to minister unto him, and to bless in his name," we can have no difficulty in recognising in the two symbolic candlesticks, two religious systems or churches; and in the two olive trees, the priesthoods of those churches; nor that the term "standing before the God of the earth," affixes to those priesthoods obedience to the sovereign will, and readiness to execute the commands of their temporal head, precisely in the spirit and sense in which angels and prophets are represented in Scripture standing before God to do his bidding. Thus, in Luke i. 19, "I am Gabriel, that stand in the presence of God; and am sent to speak unto thee, and to show thee these glad tidings;" and again, Rev. viii. 2, "And I saw the seven angels which stood before God, and to them were given seven trumpets."

The two churches and their priesthoods, symbolically exhibited by the two olive trees and the two candlesticks, being thus shown to have been inspired by, and obedient to the supreme authority on earth, the symbolic witnesses, declared to be those olive trees and candlesticks, cannot be representatives of the "holy city," and must therefore be the representatives of those by whom that city was trodden under foot. It will be seen that in the former case the witnesses would have been represented standing before "Him that liveth for ever and ever, who created heaven and the things that are therein, and the earth and the things that are therein, and the sea and the things which therein are," and that being represented standing before "the God of the earth," the apparently obvious conclusion, first adopted respecting them, is thereby shown to be erroneous.

Whilst therefore they are foreshown to become, by their executive testimony, witnesses to the truth of God's assertion by the mouth of his representative angel, that the holy city would be trodden under foot forty and two months, they are

shown by the declaration that they were “the two olive trees and the two candlesticks standing before the God of the earth,” *not* to be God’s witnesses, as members of the church of which Christ alone is the head, and consequently to be fitted to commence and sustain the oppression of that church, in accordance with the characteristics additionally attached to them by the next terms “And if any man will hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth and devoureth their enemies,” which, whilst conveying to John an idea only of the terrible power represented by the witnesses, reveals to us a picture, the reality of which is before us in the results of the faggot piles, bulls, anathemas, and edicts, which, not only at the period at which we have arrived, but for ages previously, history has already shown to have issued from the heads of the professing visible church, and also from the heads of the state, for the suppression and destruction of heretics, so styled by them, but styled by God, in the prophecy, “the holy city”; and as history has already shown us, and will continue to show, that these bulls, anathemas, and edicts, up to the period to which the prophecy has brought us, were, in obedience to the commands of those issuing them, faithfully executed by their armies of cardinals, bishops, priests, monks, and soldiers, it will be seen that the Apocalyptic characteristic “fire proceedeth out of their mouth and devoureth their enemies,” was also attached to the professing Christian church and her priesthood, and manifested by the stakes and faggot piles erected, and the murders committed at their bidding, for the extirpation of their enemies, the true church, “the holy city.”

Even this is not enough, characteristics indicating still greater persecution and tyranny follow; for, after announcing by the terms “And if any man will hurt them, he must in this manner be killed,” that the witnesses themselves could only be overcome by fire proceeding out of the mouth of their enemies, an announcement which Luther illustrates in his famous appeal to the church, already quoted, “heretics must be refuted by Scripture, as the ancient fathers did, and not subdued by fire,” a precept he never ceases to

enjoin when addressing his hearers, the angel goes on to say, still describing the witnesses :—"These have power to shut heaven that it rain not in the days of their prophecy," that is, they have power to close places of worship and to deprive the inhabitants of the earth of the benefits of their communion, or in Roman words, "to excommunicate them;" "And have power over waters to turn them to blood;" that is, to incite the nations of the earth to make war; "And to smite the earth with all plagues as often as they will;" that is, to curse the people and inflict upon them every evil common to man; all of which so faithfully portray the power notoriously exercised by the professing Christian church and her priesthood, that it appears superfluous to multiply historical proofs, but as other terms impose on us to continue to investigate the pages of history, we need not cease to apply the evidences of correspondence resulting from the facts disclosed, however apparently superfluous those evidences may be.

As the above terms conclude the prophetic characteristics of the witnesses, before proceeding with their subsequent history, we must revert to the terms "clothed in sackcloth," which, when previously mentioned, it was stated would be again referred to. Though the sackcloth dress would properly denote a state of persecution and oppression, it being a sign of Jewish mourning, it was also a garb peculiar to the prophets, as in Isaiah xx. 2, "At the same time spake the Lord," (referring to Isaiah), "Go and loose the sackcloth from off thy loins," and, as such, was an appropriate dress for the witnesses prophesying or bearing testimony one thousand two hundred and threescore days. The particular sense in which it is now used will appear by referring to Zech. xiii. 4, "And it shall come to pass in that day, that the prophets shall be ashamed everyone of his vision when he hath prophesied, neither shall they *wear a rough garment to deceive.*" It will be seen, therefore, that the characteristic "clothed in sackcloth" is very significant; showing, in conjunction with, and in confirmation of, those already considered, that the witnesses were false prophets, and wore the garb of true prophets to deceive; or, in other words, that the visible

professing church had assumed the name and attributes of the true church in order more successfully to tread the latter under foot. This, history and revelation have more than once previously endorsed.

Whilst the character of the witnesses is thus accurately defined, it will be observed that one only has been identified, and that no clue to the other has yet arisen. As we may be assured that John was sufficiently informed by the particular revelation now made to him, we may be also assured that, unless the remaining witness is revealed to us by the terms of the prophecy, our conclusions are incorrect, notwithstanding the support they have so far received from the evidence of accomplished facts.

Seeking some resource, we are reminded that we have not yet considered the indications by the prophetic periods "forty and two months" and "one thousand two hundred and threescore days," respectively assigned to "the holy city" to be trodden under foot, and to those who were given power to tread it under foot. This we must therefore proceed with, remembering that these being the only terms remaining by which the second witness can be identified, the correctness of our conclusions is staked on the issue of our investigation. They are, "And the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months. And I will give power unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy one thousand two hundred and threescore days." It will be here seen that the previously demonstrated relation of the witnesses to the holy city is chronologically sustained by the two periods specified being of equal duration, the one and the other being 1260 prophetic days or 1260 literal years. The arguments supporting the correctness of this interpretation have been already given, and historically confirmed.

As before remarked, this information was communicated to the evangelist verbally, indicating that the onward progress of events was interrupted to supply explanatory information. The last visible representation was, "And there was given unto me a reed like unto a rod." John is then told to "Rise and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein, but the outer court leave

out and measure it not, for it is given unto the Gentiles." This we have seen to have been, in every respect, so remarkably illustrated by Luther's appeal to the church already quoted, that we cannot resist its evidence in determining the chronological progress of the Apocalyptic drama, so that without pretending to an accuracy beyond that which is thereby indicated, we may consider generally, that the termination of the 1260 years embraced by the prophetic terms was at or about 1520, the year in which that appeal was published, as previously stated. The commencing date would consequently be at or about 260, or the latter half of the third century.

Without unduly anticipating the history which these terms impose on us to acquaint ourselves with, it may be stated, in connection with our more immediate subject, that on following the prophecy and taking our position in the third century, we are confronted by another "olive tree and candlestick" in the Pagan church, and her hierarchy of priests; and, just as in the case of the former, history has already disclosed to us all that is necessary for their immediate identification as the second witness required, in the persecutions and oppressions inflicted on the true church by her Pagan enemies, as foreshown under the fifth seal, and fulfilled, as we have seen, in the reign of Diocletian. What has been already shown, therefore, generally, it remains for history to show more particularly, viz.:—that the true church was publicly trodden under foot by the Pagan church and priests, and continued to be trodden down by their successors, the visible professing Christian church and her priests.

In the meantime, subject to subsequent confirmation, we may conclude, on the general information already supplied us, that the members of the Pagan and professing Christian churches were represented by "the two candlesticks;" and their respective hierarchies of priests, by "the two olive trees;" and that the duration of their successive and joint testimonies was 1260 years, commencing in the latter half of the third, and terminating in the first half of the sixteenth centuries.

This determined, the marvellous accuracy of Apocalyptic language is again apparent in the testimony thus afforded to the composite character of the church, under whose witnessing the treading under foot of the holy city was terminated; for as we have already seen, and as will be more particularly shown, that the Roman church which succeeded to the Pagan was, in reality, a continuation of the latter under another name and garb, precisely in accordance with her characteristic “clothed in sackcloth,” and was therefore, from that time, a compound of Paganism and professed Christianity, so it appears impossible to conceive anything more admirable than the manner in which this is prophetically revealed; for whilst the fact is indisputably foreshown by the subsequent history of the olive trees and candlesticks being carried on conjointly, it is only by the exercise of the divine precept, already quoted, “Seek and ye shall find,” that this important and otherwise hidden indication is brought to light. An interesting confirmation of this indication may be found in the original Alexandrine manuscript, to be seen at the British Museum, in which the word translated in our text, “bodies” is “body”—“And *their* dead *body*, etc.” The two witnesses being thus identified, we may pass to their subsequent history, which is commenced by, “And when they shall have finished their testimony,” that is at the end of the 1260 years, “the beast which ascendeth out of the bottomless pit shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them.”

To ascertain the new character here introduced will detain us but a few moments. As stated in a previous instance, we may be assured that the prophecy supplies all necessary information for identification, and therefore, that John was sufficiently instructed by the characteristic attached to “the beast,” to determine the agency denoted. He would naturally be led to the scene exhibited under the fifth trumpet, “And he opened the bottomless pit; and there arose a smoke out of the pit; and there came out of the smoke locusts upon the earth,” and would readily determine “the beast,” now announced, to be the agency which succeeded to, or arose out of, that represented by those locusts;

and as it will be remembered that those locusts have been found to have represented the followers of Mahomet, so we may, with John, determine that the Turks, the surviving representatives of Mahomet, and the secular power which expelled and succeeded the Saracens, whom we have seen, as followers of Mahomet and Apocalyptic locusts, to have overrun a large portion of the western Roman empire, are both comprehended and appropriately pointed out by "the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit."

Whilst therefore the prophecy may be consistently illustrated by either of these powers respectively, if history shows that both took part in producing the effect foretold, another most interesting and conspicuous evidence of the comprehensiveness and accuracy of the Apocalyptic terms will be thereby supplied. The effect foretold is, that this agency made war on, humiliated, and subverted the authority of the visible professing church, deprived her of spiritual life or power, and placed her in a position to fulfil the next terms, "And their dead bodies shall lie in the street of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified," the force of which will be understood by considering "the great city" in contrast with "the holy city;" the former comprising the outer-court worshippers, the latter, those of the inner court; the former, the unsealed, the latter, the sealed of former figurations; the former, those of the earth, earthy, "walking according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that worketh in the children of disobedience," "aliens from the commonwealth of Israel," Ephes. ii. 2, 12, the latter, those "created in Christ Jesus unto good works," walking according to "the prince of life," "the head over all things to his church," "through whom they have access by one spirit unto the Father," Ephes. ii. 10; i. 22; ii. 18; the former, the Gentiles of the prophecy, rejected from the temple wherein that Father, the great Jehovah, is seated on his throne, Rev. iv. 2, the latter, the true church, admitted therein; the former, whose God is Apocalyptically styled "the God of the earth," the latter, whose God is Apocalyptically

styled “Him that liveth for ever and ever, who created the heaven and the things that therein are; and the earth and the things that therein are; and the sea and the things which are therein.”

The errors of “the great city” are more especially exhibited by its characteristic appellations, Sodom and Egypt, and by its being declared to include those who rejected and crucified the Lord’s spirit just as the Jews of old rejected and crucified his body. Consistently with the figure, the street of “the great city” would manifestly represent the place in which its authority and ceremonial were most conspicuous; so that the prophecy, whilst exposing the deadly errors of the professing Christian church, foreshows that though she would appear generally as dead, her death would be more particularly manifest in the capital of her dominions. The prophecy then says:—“And they of the people, and kindreds, and tongues, and nations shall see their dead bodies three days and an half, and shall not suffer their dead bodies to be put in graves;” which indicates that the degradation or spiritual death of the visible church was seen and acquiesced in by the representatives of the potentates of Christendom for the space of three years and a half, but at the same time they did not suffer those who desired her extinction from the face of the earth to accomplish their designs,—“they did not suffer their dead body,” as it is in the manuscript referred to, “to be put in a grave”—notwithstanding that the next terms, “And they that dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over them, and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another, because these two prophets tormented them that dwelt on the earth,” announce that the desires of the enemies of the visible church were supported even by the acclamations of her votaries, who saw in her degradation their escape from a tyrannical rule, and hailed it accordingly with satisfaction and joy.

It must be next observed, that a change now takes place in the prophetic record. The history of the symbolic witnesses, hitherto conversationally depicted in the future, is now continued in the perfect tense; and as no change must be overlooked as without prophetic purpose, we may naturally conclude that the onward progress of events, interrupted

to supply the explanatory information we have been considering, is at this point resumed by visible representation, the first scene being, "And after three days and an half, the spirit of life from God entered" (not shall enter) "into them, and they stood upon their feet, and great fear fell on them which saw them," indicating, that the professing Christian church, after a space of three years and a half from the time of her being deprived of spiritual life, was reanimated by the spirit and power of her temporal head, and again appeared alive to the great dismay of those who beheld her; this scene is followed by her again assuming her dominant position in the ecclesiastical heaven of the empire at the invitation and under the favour and protection of that same temporal head, as denoted by the succeeding terms, "And they heard a great voice from heaven, saying unto them, Come up hither, and they ascended up to heaven in a cloud." It is then said, "And their enemies beheld them," a general term, which history will best interpret. The idea, however, appears to be suggested, that the revivification of the professing church was a public act of a Diet or Council, at which her enemies, the members of the holy city, were also assembled; and who, therefore, witnessed her triumph in the sense denoted by the prophetic terms, which are evidently intended to convey a meaning beyond the ordinary acceptation of the words expressing it. This will also apply to the former terms, "And great fear fell on them which saw them."

The next terms are "And the same hour was there a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the city fell, and in the earthquake were slain of men seven thousand; and the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven;" which impose on history to show that the revivification of the professing church was immediately followed by a great revolution, resulting in the yoke of that church being cast off by an important part of her dominions; subsequently by another part of less importance; and the remaining part maintaining their allegiance and giving their power to their supreme ecclesiastical head under the influence of great fear.

The qualifying terms “tenth part” and “of men seven thousand,” here interpreted generally, admit of the stricter definition which they demand; but as the event will be the simplest, and, therefore, the best interpreter, the revelation by history may be awaited with advantage.

The voice of the angel of the sixth trumpet, after proclaiming “The second woe is past, and behold the third woe cometh quickly,” then ceases to be heard. By this last announcement it is further imposed on history to show, that events corresponding with those proclaimed by the angel of the seventh trumpet almost immediately succeeded those now foreshown to come to pass; so that, when we are called on to hear that angel’s voice, we must not forget that its historic illustration has this chronological limit.

Having thus carefully analysed the terms of the fourth part of the sixth trumpet’s prophecy, a general review of their requirements from history may assist us in applying their illustration. Before proceeding, however, it is yet necessary to observe, that as the 1260 years of the prophecy marks, as stated, the period during which the witnesses were “clothed in sackcloth,” so the termination of that period simply marks the time at which their assumed garb would be stripped off by the exposure of their true character, and nothing further. Their subsequent history is in no way affected by the chronological period referred to.

It must be also observed, that the true church has been given “a reed like unto a rod,” which being, as we have seen in the preceding lecture, the recognised symbol of a delegated power for the punishment of offenders, we are led to expect from history to show that the exercise of that power by the members of the true church was manifested by their taking active part in the chastisement foreshown to be inflicted on the professing church at this period by the secular agency, whose character has been just explained. Neither must we overlook that it is strongly implied, as we have also seen in the previous lecture, that the members of the true church, during the progress of these events, constituted themselves into an organised visible body, in accord-

ance with the instruction given to John, "Rise and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein," and with Luther's illustrative appeal to the church already quoted.

This observed, we may proceed to a general review of our subject, which exhibits the following as an outline of the historic events required to illustrate the prophetic terms, viz.:—

That in the latter half of the third century the Pagan church and priests persecuted and oppressed the true church under circumstances sufficiently exceptional or peculiar to enable the period to be consistently identified as the commencement of the notified 1260 years. That they continued this oppression up to the time of their power being subverted and absorbed by the Roman church, under the name of Christian. That the oppression of the true church was continued by this professing Christian Roman church and her priests until the first half of the sixteenth century, up to which time she was believed to be the true church in accordance with her name and profession, but at which time she was stripped of her assumed, and exposed in her true character of the enemy and persecutor of the church which she herself professed to be. That at or about the expiration of the 1260 years, the true church was invested with power to inflict punishment on her persecutor, the exercise of which was manifested conjointly with that of the Turks, or the secular power which succeeded to that of the Saracens, or both. That this secular power, separately or combined, made war on the professing church, humiliated her, subverted her authority, and deprived her of spiritual power. That she remained as dead during three years and a half, affording joy thereby to friends and enemies, when, at the invitation, and under the favour and protection of the secular power which had degraded her, she again assumed her dominant position to the great dismay of the true church. That this was immediately followed by a great revolution. That the yoke of the professing church was cast off, first by an important part, and subsequently by a less important part of her ecclesiastical dominions; and that

the remaining part maintained their allegiance to her, and gave their power to her supreme head, solely under the influence of fear. Also, that these events preceded by a short time only those subsequently found to correspond with the prophecy announced by the angel sounding the seventh trumpet. The particular details completing the prophetic picture, not included in this general outline, must also have their counterparts in history, the records of which we must now consult to verify our interpretations. As an impartial and generally reliable church historian, we may take Dr. Mosheim as our principal illustrator. In the second chapter, part I., of his history of the third century, he says :—

“The accession of Decius Trajan to the imperial throne, in the year 249, raised a new tempest, in which the fury of persecution fell in a dreadful manner on the church of Christ. For this emperor, either from an ill-grounded fear of the Christians, or from a violent zeal for the superstition of his ancestors, published most terrible and cruel edicts; by which the prætors were ordered, upon pain of death, either to extirpate the whole body of Christians without exception, or to force them, by torments of various kinds, to return to the Pagan worship. Hence, in all the provinces of the empire, multitudes of Christians were, during the space of two years, put to death by the most horrid punishments which an ingenious barbarity could invent. The most unhappy circumstance of all these cruelties was, their fatal influence upon the faith and constancy of many of the sufferers; for as this persecution was much more terrible than all those that preceded it, so a great number of Christians, dismayed, not at the approach of death, but at the aspect of those dreadful and lingering torments, which a barbarous magistracy had prepared to combat their constancy, fell from the profession of their faith, and secured themselves from punishment, either by offering sacrifices, or by burning incense before the images of the gods, or by purchasing certificates from the Pagan priests.

“Gallus, the successor of Decius, and Volusianus, son of the former, reanimated the flame of persecution which was

beginning to burn with less fury. And, besides the sufferings which the Christians had to undergo in consequence of their cruel edicts, they were also involved in the public calamities that prevailed at this time" (foreshown under the fourth seal), "and suffered grievously from a terrible pestilence, which spread desolation through many provinces of the empire. This pestilence also was an occasion which the Pagan priests used with dexterity to renew the rage of persecution against them, by persuading the people that it was on account of the lenity used towards the Christians, that the gods sent down their judgments upon the nations. In the year 254, Valerian being declared emperor, made the fury of persecution cease, and restored the church to a state of tranquillity.

"The clemency and benevolence which Valerian showed to the Christians, continued until the fifth year of his reign. Then the scene began to change, and the change indeed was sudden. Macrianus, a superstitious and cruel bigot to Paganism, had gained an entire ascendant over Valerian, and was his chief counsellor in everything that related to the administration of the government. By the persuasion of this imperious minister, the Christians were prohibited to assemble themselves together, and their bishops and doctors were sent into banishment. This edict was published in the year 257, and was followed the year after by one still more severe; in consequence of which a considerable number of Christians, in all the different provinces of the empire, were put to death, and that by such cruel methods of execution as were much more terrible than death itself. Of those that suffered in this persecution, the most eminent were Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, Sixtus, bishop of Rome, and Laurentius, a Roman deacon, who was barbarously consumed by a slow and lingering fire. An unexpected event suspended for a while the sufferings of the Christians. Valerian was made prisoner in the war against the Persians; and his son, Gallienus, in the year 260, restored peace to the church.

"The condition of the Christians was rather supportable than happy under the reign of Gallienus, which lasted eight years; as also, under the short administration of his

successor, Claudius. Nor did they suffer much during the first four years of the reign of Aurelian, who was raised to the empire in the year 270. But the fifth year of this emperor's administration would have proved fatal to them, had not his violent death prevented the execution of his cruel purposes. For while, set on by the unjust suggestions of his own superstition, or by the barbarous counsels of a bigoted *priesthood*, he was preparing a formidable attack upon the Christians, he was obliged to march into Gaul, where he was murdered, in the year 275, before his edicts were published throughout the empire. Few, therefore, suffered martyrdom under his reign, and indeed during the remainder of this century, the Christians enjoyed a considerable measure of ease and tranquillity. They were, at least, free from any violent attacks of oppression and injustice, except in a small number of cases, where the avarice and superstition of the Roman magistrates interrupted their tranquillity."

Having here before us ample testimony "that in the latter half of the third century the Pagan church and priests persecuted and oppressed the Christians," and thus confirmed our identification of that church and priesthood as one of the Apocalyptic candlesticks and olive trees, the exceptional or peculiar circumstances by which the period may be consistently recognised as the commencement of the notified 1260 years, must next engage our attention, to develop which we must see what the historian further records as peculiar to the church in this half century. He thus continues :—

"While the Roman emperors and proconsuls employed against the Christians the terror of unrighteous edicts and the edge of the destroying sword, the Platonic philosophers exhausted against Christianity all the force of their learning and eloquence, and all the resources of their art and dexterity, in rhetorical declamations, subtle writings, and ingenious stratagems. These artful adversaries were so much the more dangerous and formidable, as they had adopted several of the doctrines and institutions of the gospel, and with a specious air of moderation and impar-

tiality, were attempting after the example of their master Ammonius, to reconcile *Paganism with Christianity*, and to form a *sort of coalition of the ancient and the new religion*. These philosophers had at their head in this century, *Porphry*, a Syrian, or as some allege, a Tyrian, by birth, who wrote against the Christians a long and laborious work, which was destroyed afterwards by an edict of Constantine the Great. Many were the deceitful and perfidious stratagems by which this sect endeavoured to obscure the lustre, and to diminish the authority of the Christian doctrine. But none of these were more dangerous than the seducing artifice, with which they formed a comparison between the life, actions, and miracles of Christ, and the history of the ancient philosophers; and placed the contending parties in such fallacious points of view as to make the pretended sages of antiquity appear in nothing inferior to the divine Saviour. But as there are no opinions, however absurd, and no stories, however idle and improbable, that a weak and ignorant multitude, who are more attentive to the pomp of words than to the truth of things, will not easily swallow, so it happened that many were ensnared by the absurd attempts of these insidious philosophers. Some were induced by these ingenious stratagems to abandon the Christian religion, which they had embraced. Others, when they heard that true Christianity (as it was taught by Jesus, and not as it was afterwards corrupted by his disciples) differed almost in nothing from the Pagan religion, properly explained and restored to its primitive purity, determined to remain in the religion of their ancestors, and in the worship of their gods. A third sort were led, by these comparisons between Christ and the ancient philosophers, to form to themselves a motley system composed of the tenets of both parties, whom they treated with the same veneration and respect. This victorious sect, which was formed in Egypt, issued forth from thence with such a rapid progress, that, in a short time, it extended itself almost throughout the Roman empire. This amazing progress was due to Plotinus, the most eminent disciple of Ammonius. The number of disciples that were formed in

the school of Plotinus, is almost beyond credibility. The most famous of them was Porphyry. From the time of Ammonius, until the sixth century, this was almost the only system of philosophy that was publicly taught at Alexandria. The whole sect were obliged to keep constantly in view ‘That truth was to be pursued with utmost liberty, and to be collected from all the different systems in which it lay dispersed.’

“The famous question concerning the excellence and utility of human learning was now debated with great warmth among the Christians; and the contending parties, in this controversy, seemed hitherto of equal force in point of numbers, or nearly so. Many recommended the study of philosophy, and an acquaintance with the Greek and Roman literature; while others maintained, that those were pernicious to the interests of genuine Christianity, and the progress of true piety. The cause of letters and philosophy triumphed, however, by degrees; and those who wished well to them, gained ground more and more, till at length the superiority was manifestly declared in their favour. This victory was principally due to the influence and authority of Origen, who having been early instructed in the new kind of Platonism already mentioned, blended it unhappily with the purer and more sublime tenets of a celestial doctrine, and recommended it in the warmest manner to the youth who attended in public lessons. The fame of this philosopher increased daily among the Christians; and, in proportion to his rising credit, his method of proposing and explaining the doctrines of Christianity gained authority, till it became almost universal. Besides, some of the disciples of Plotinus having embraced Christianity, on condition that they should be allowed to retain such of the opinions of their master as they thought of superior excellence and merit, this must also have contributed, in some measure, to turn the balance in favour of the sciences. These Christian philosophers, preserving still a fervent zeal for the doctrines of their heathen chief would naturally embrace every opportunity of spreading them abroad, and instilling them into the minds of the ignorant and the unwary.”

Under the head of “concerning the doctors and ministers of the church, and its form of government during this century,” Mosheim, in part II, chapter 2, says:—“The form of ecclesiastical government that had been adopted by Christians in general, had now acquired greater degrees of stability and force, both in particular churches, and in the universal society of Christians collectively considered. It appears incontestable, from the most authentic records and the best histories of this century, that, in the larger cities, there was at the head of each church a person to whom was given the title of bishop, who ruled this sacred community with a certain sort of authority, in concert, however, with the body of presbyters, and consulting, in matters of moment, the opinion and voices of the whole assembly. It is also equally evident, that, in every province, one bishop was invested with a certain superiority over the rest, in point of rank and authority. This was necessary to that association of churches that had been introduced in the preceding century; and contributed, moreover, to facilitate the holding of general councils; and to give a certain degree of order and consistence to their proceedings. It must, at the same time, be carefully observed, that the rights and privileges of these primitive bishops were not everywhere accurately fixed, nor determined in such a manner as to prevent encroachments and disputes; nor does it appear that the chief authority in the province was always conferred upon that bishop who presided over the church established in the metropolis. It is further to be noticed as a fact beyond all dispute, that the bishops of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria, considered as rulers of primitive and apostolic churches, had a kind of pre-eminence over all others, and were not only consulted frequently in affairs of a difficult and momentous nature, but were also distinguished by peculiar rights and privileges.

“With respect, particularly, to the bishop of Rome, he is supposed by Cyprian to have had, at this time, a certain pre-eminence in the church; nor does he stand alone in this opinion. But it is to be carefully observed that even those who, with Cyprian, attributed this pre-eminence to the Roman prelate, insisted at the same time, with the utmost

warmth, upon *the equality*, in point of *dignity and authority*, that subsisted among all the members of the episcopal order. The pre-eminence of the bishop of Rome was a pre-eminence of order and association and not of power and authority. Or, to explain the matter yet more clearly, the pre-eminence of the bishop of Rome, in the universal church, was such as that of Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, was to the African churches. And everyone knows that the precedence of this latter prelate diminished in nothing the equality that subsisted among all the African bishops, invalidated in no instances their rights and liberties; but gave only to Cyprian, as the president of their general assemblies, a power of calling councils, of presiding in them, of admonishing his brethren in a mild and fraternal manner, and of executing, in short, such offices as the order and purposes of these ecclesiastical meetings generally required.

“The face of things began now to change in the Christian church. The ancient method of ecclesiastical government seemed, in general, still to subsist, while, at the same time, by imperceptible steps it varied from the primitive rule, and degenerated towards the form of a religious monarchy. For the bishops aspired to higher degrees of power and authority than they had formerly possessed; and not only violated the rights of the people, but also made gradual encroachments upon the privileges of the presbyters. And that they might cover these usurpations with an air of justice and an appearance of reason, *they published new doctrines concerning the nature of the church, and of the episcopal dignity*, which, however, were, in general, so obscure, that they themselves seem to have understood them as little as those to whom they were delivered. One of the principal authors of this change in the government of the church was Cyprian, who pleaded for the power of the bishops with more zeal and vehemence than had ever been employed in that cause, though not with an unshaken constancy and perseverance; for, in difficult and perilous times, necessity sometimes obliged him to yield, and to submit several things to the judgment and authority of the church.

“This change in the form of ecclesiastical government,

was soon followed by a train of vices, which dishonoured the character and authority of those to whom the administration of the church was committed. For, though several yet continued to exhibit to the world illustrious examples of primitive piety and Christian virtue, yet many were sunk in luxury and voluptuousness, puffed up with vanity, arrogance, and ambition, possessed with a spirit of contention and discord, and addicted to many other vices that cast an undeserved reproach upon the holy religion, of which they were the unworthy professors and ministers. This is testified in such an ample manner by the repeated complaints of many of the most respectable writers of this age, that truth will not admit us to spread the veil, which we should otherwise be desirous to cast over such enormities among an order so sacred. The bishops assumed, in many places, a princely authority, particularly those who had the greatest number of churches under their inspection, and who presided over the most opulent assemblies. They appropriated to their evangelical function the splendid ensigns of temporal majesty. *A THRONE, surrounded with ministers, exalted above his equals, the servant of the meek and humble Jesus; and sumptuous garments dazzled the eyes and minds of the multitude into an ignorant veneration for their arrogated authority.* The example of the bishops was ambitiously imitated by the presbyters, who, neglecting the sacred duties of their station, abandoned themselves to the indolence and delicacy of an effeminate and luxurious life. The deacons, beholding the presbyters deserting thus their functions, boldly usurped their rights and privileges; and the effects of a corrupt ambition were spread through every rank of the sacred order.

“ From what has been now observed, we may come, perhaps, at the true origin of minor, or lesser orders, which were, in this century, added everywhere to those of the bishops, presbyters, and deacons. For certainly the titles and offices of subdeacons, doorkeepers, readers, exorcists, and *copiatæ* would never have been heard of in the church, if its rulers had been assiduously and zealously employed in promoting the interests of truth and piety by their labours and their example. But when the honours and privileges of

the bishops and presbyters were augmented, the deacons also began to extend their ambitious views, and to despise those lower functions and employments which they had hitherto exercised with such humility and zeal. The additional orders that were now created to diminish the labours of the present rulers of the church had functions allotted to them, which their names partly explain. The institution of exorcists was a consequence of the doctrine of the new Platonists, which the Christians adopted, and which taught that the evil genii or spirits were continually hovering over human bodies, towards which they were carried by a natural and vehement desire; and that vicious men were not so much impelled to sin by an innate depravity, or by the seduction of example, as by the internal suggestions of some evil demon. The *copiatæ* were employed in providing for the decent interment of the dead.

“Marriage was permitted to all the various ranks and orders of the clergy, high and low. Those, however, who continued in a state of celibacy, obtained by this abstinence a higher reputation of sanctity and virtue than others. This was owing to an almost general persuasion, that they who took wives were of all others the most subject to the influence of malignant demons. And as it was of infinite importance to the interests of the church that no impure or malevolent spirit entered into the bodies of such as were appointed to govern or to instruct others, so the people were desirous that the clergy should use their utmost efforts to abstain from the pleasures of a conjugal life.”

The historian then terminates the chapter by mentioning the principal writers that distinguished themselves in this century by their learned and pious productions; which, not being referred to in the prophecy, we may pass over, and resume his history at the third chapter. The names of the writers, it may, however, be stated, are Origen, Julius Africanus, Hippolytus, Gregory, bishop of New Cæsarea, Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, Methodius, Cyprian, Minucius Felix, and Arnobius.

The third chapter, “concerning the doctrine of the Christian church in this century,” Mosheim thus com-

mences:—"The principal doctrines of Christianity were now explained to the people in their native purity and simplicity, without any mixture of abstract reasonings or subtle inventions; nor were the feeble minds of the multitude loaded with a great variety of precepts. But the Christian doctors who had applied themselves to the study of letters and philosophy, soon abandoned the frequented paths, and struck out into the devious wilds of fancy. The Egyptians distinguished themselves in this new method of explaining the truth. They looked upon it as a noble and a glorious task to bring the doctrines of celestial wisdom into a certain subjection to the precepts of their philosophy, and to make deep and profound researches into the intimate and hidden nature of those truths which the divine Saviour had delivered to his disciples. Origen was at the head of this speculative tribe. This great man, enchanted by the charms of the Platonic philosophy, set it up as the test of all religion; and imagined that the reasons of each doctrine were to be found in that favourite philosophy, and their nature and extent to be determined by it. It must be confessed that he handled this matter with modesty and with caution; but he still gave an example to his disciples, the abuse of which could not fail to be pernicious, and, under the authority of which, they would naturally indulge themselves without restraint in every wanton fancy. And so, indeed, the case was; for the disciples of Origen, breaking forth from the limits fixed by their master, interpreted in the most licentious manner the divine truths of religion according to the tenor of the Platonic philosophy. From these teachers, the philosophical, or *scholastic theology*, as it is called, *derives its origin*; and, proceeding hence, passed through various forms and modifications according to the genius, turn, and erudition of those who embraced it.

"The same principle gave rise to another species of theology, which was called *mystic*. And what must seem at first sight surprising here is, that this mystic theology, though formed at the same time, and derived from the same source with the scholastic, yet had a natural tendency to overturn and destroy it. The authors of this mystic science

are not known, but the principles from whence it sprung are manifest. Its first promoters proceeded from that known doctrine of the Platonic school, which also was adopted by Origen and his disciples, that ‘the divine nature was diffused through all human souls,’ or, in other words, that the ‘faculty of reason, from which proceeds the health and vigour of the mind, was an emanation from God into the human soul, and comprehended in it the principles and elements of all truth, human and divine.’ They denied that men could, by labour or study, excite this celestial flame in their breasts; and, therefore, they disapproved highly of the attempts of those, who, by definitions, abstract theorems, and profound speculations, endeavoured to form distinct notions of truth, and to discover its hidden nature. On the contrary, they maintained that silence, tranquillity, repose, and solitude, accompanied with such acts of mortification as might tend to extenuate and exhaust the body, were the means by which the hidden and internal word was excited to produce its latent virtues, and to instruct men in the knowledge of divine things. For thus they reasoned: ‘They who behold with a noble contempt all human affairs, who turn away their eyes from terrestrial vanities, and shut all the avenues of the outward senses against the contagious influences of a material world, must necessarily return to God, when the spirit is thus disengaged from the impediments that prevented that happy union. And, in this blessed frame, they not only enjoy inexpressible raptures from their communion with the Supreme Being, but also are invested with the inestimable privilege of contemplating truth undisguised and uncorrupted in its native purity, while others behold it in a vitiated and delusive form.’

“This method of reasoning produced strange effects, and drove many into caves and deserts, where they macerated their bodies with hunger and thirst, and submitted to all the miseries of the severest discipline that a gloomy imagination could prescribe. And it is not improbable that Paul, the first hermit, was rather engaged by this fanatical system, than by the persecution under Decius, to fly into the most solitary deserts of Thebais, where he led, during the space

of ninety years, a life more worthy of a savage animal than of a rational being. It is, however, to be observed, that though Paul is placed at the head of the order of *Hermits*, yet that unsociable manner of life was very common in Egypt, Syria, India, and Mesopotamia, not only long before his time, but even before the coming of Christ. And it is still practised among the Mahometans as well as the Christians, in those arid and burning climates.

“But let us turn away our eyes from these scenes of fanaticism, which are so opprobrious to human nature, and consider some other circumstances that belong more or less to the history of the Christian doctrine during this century. And here it is proper to mention the useful labours of those who manifested their zeal for the holy scriptures by the care they took to have accurate copies of them multiplied everywhere, and that at such moderate prices, as rendered them of easy purchase; as also to have them translated into various languages, and published in correct editions. Many of the more opulent among the Christians contributed generously a great part of their substance to the carrying on these pious and excellent undertakings. Pierius and Hesychius in Egypt, and Lucian at Antioch, employed much pains in correcting the copies of the Septuagint, and Pamphidus of Cæsarea laboured with great diligence and success in works of the same nature, until a glorious martyrdom finished his course. But Origen surpassed all others in diligence and assiduity. After the encomiums we have given to Origen, who has an undoubted right to the first place among the interpreters of the scriptures in this century, it is not without a deep concern that we are obliged to add, that he also, by an unhappy method, opened a secure retreat for all sorts of errors that a wild and irregular imagination could bring forth. Having entertained a notion that it was extremely difficult, if not impossible, to defend everything contained in the sacred writings from the cavils of heretics and infidels, so long as they were explained literally according to the real import of the terms, he had recourse to the fecundity of a lively imagination, and maintained, that the holy scriptures were to be inter-

preted in the same allegorical manner that the Platonists explained the history of the gods. In consequence of this pernicious rule of interpretation, he alleged, that the words of Scripture were, in many places, absolutely void of sense ; and that though in others there were indeed certain notions conveyed under the outward terms according to their literal force and import, yet it was not in these that the true meaning of the sacred writers was to be sought, but in a mysterious and hidden sense arising from the nature of the things themselves.

“ A prodigious number of interpreters, both in this and the succeeding ages, followed the method of Origen, though with some variations ; nor could the few, who explained the sacred writings with judgment and a true spirit of criticism, oppose, with any success, the torrent of allegory that was overflowing the church.”

“ It is necessary to observe, that the methods now used of defending Christianity, and attacking Judaism and idolatry, degenerated much from the primitive simplicity, and the true rule of controversy. The Christian doctors, who had been educated in the school of the rhetoricians and sophists, rashly employed the arts and evasions of their subtle masters in the service of Christianity ; and, intent only upon defeating the enemy, they were too little attentive to the means of victory, indifferent whether they acquired it by art or plain dealing. This method of disputing, which the ancients called *economical*, and which had victory for its object rather than truth, was, in consequence of the prevailing taste for rhetoric and sophistry, almost universally approved.

“ This disingenuous and vicious method of surprising their adversaries by artifice, and striking them down, as it were, by lies and fictions, produced among other disagreeable effects a great number of books, which were falsely attributed to certain great men, in order to give these spurious productions more credit and weight. Hence, the book of *canons*, which certain artful men ascribed falsely to the apostles ; hence, the *apostolic constitutions*, of which Clement, bishop of Rome, is said to have formed a collection ;

hence, the *recognitions* and the *clementina*, which are also attributed to Clement, and many other productions of that nature, which, for a long time, were too much esteemed by credulous men.

“Nor were the managers of controversy the only persons who employed these stratagems; the mystics had recourse to the same pious frauds to support their sect. And, accordingly, when they were asked from what chief their establishment took its rise, to get clear of this perplexing question, they feigned a chief, and chose, for that purpose, Dionysius the Areopagite, a man of almost apostolic weight and authority, who was converted to Christianity, in the first century, by the preaching of St. Paul at Athens. And to render this fiction more specious, they attributed to this great man various treatises concerning the *monastic life*, the *mystic theology*, and other subjects of that nature, which were the productions of some senseless and insipid writers of after-times. Thus it happened, through the pernicious influence of human passions, which too often mingle themselves with the execution of the best purposes and the most upright intentions, that they, who were desirous of surpassing all others in piety, looked upon it as lawful, and even laudable, to advance the cause of piety by artifice and fraud.

“The most famous controversies that divided the Christians during this century were those concerning the millennium or reign of a thousand years; the baptism of heretics, and the doctrine of Origen.” The historian’s record of these controversies is continued in paragraphs 13 and 14, but as they do not directly belong to our subject, we may omit further notice of them, which brings us to chapter 4—“concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the church during this century.” Mosheim here says:—

“All the records of this century mention the multiplication of rites and ceremonies in the Christian church. Several of the causes that contributed to this have been already pointed out, to which we may add, as a principal one, the passion which now reigned for the Platonic philosophy, or rather for the popular Oriental superstition concerning demons, adopted by the Platonists, and borrowed unhappily from

them by the Christian doctors. For there is not the least doubt but that many of the rites *now introduced into the church* derived their origin from the reigning opinions concerning the nature of demons, and the powers and operations of invisible beings. Hence the use of exorcisms and spells, the frequency of fasts, and the aversion to wedlock. Hence the custom of avoiding all connection with those who were not as yet baptised, or who lay under the penalty of excommunication, as persons supposed to be under the dominion of some malignant spirit; and hence the rigour and severity of that discipline and penance that were imposed upon those who had incurred, by their immoralities, the censures of the church.

“ In most parts of the provinces there were, at this time, certain fixed places set apart for public worship among the Christians, as will appear evident to every impartial inquirer into these matters. Nor is it absolutely improbable that these churches were, in several places, embellished with images and other ornaments. With respect to the forms of divine worship, and the times appointed for its celebration, there were little innovations made in this century. Two things, however, deserve to be taken notice of here: the first is, that the discourses or sermons addressed to the people were very different from those of the earlier times of the church, and degenerated much from the ancient simplicity. For, not to say anything of Origen, who introduced long sermons, and was the first who explained the Scriptures in his discourses, several bishops, who had received their education in the schools of the rhetoricians, were exactly scrupulous in adapting their public exhortations and discourses to the rules of Grecian eloquence. And this method gained such credit as to be soon almost universally followed. The second thing that we proposed to mention as worthy of notice is, that about this time the use of *incense* was introduced, at least into many churches. This has been denied by some men of eminent learning; the fact, however, is rendered evident by the most unexceptionable testimonies.

“ Several alterations were now introduced in the celebration of the Lord’s supper by those who had the direction of divine worship. The prayers used upon this occasion were

lengthened; and the solemnity and pomp with which this important institution was celebrated were considerably increased; no doubt with a pious intention to render it still more respectable, those who were in a penitential state, and those also who had not received the sacrament of baptism, were not admitted to this holy supper; and it is not difficult to perceive that these exclusions were *an imitation of what was practised in the heathen mysteries*. We find by the accounts of Prudentius and others, that gold and silver vessels were now used in the administration of the Lord's supper. As to the time of celebrating this solemn ordinance, it must be carefully observed that there was a considerable variation in different churches, arising from their different circumstances, and founded upon reasons of prudence and necessity. In some it was celebrated in the morning, in others at noon, and in others in the evening. It was also more frequently repeated in some churches than in others, but was considered in all of the highest importance, and as essential to salvation, for which reason it was even thought proper to administer it to infants. The sacred feasts that accompanied this venerable institution, preceded its celebration in some churches, and followed it in others.

“There were, twice a year, stated times when baptism was administered to such as after a long course of trial and preparation offered themselves as candidates for the profession of Christianity. This ceremony was performed only in the presence of such as were already initiated into the Christian mysteries. The transmission of sins was thought to be its immediate and happy fruit, while the bishop, by prayer and imposition of hands, was supposed to confer those sanctifying gifts of the Holy Ghost that are necessary to a life of righteousness and virtue. None were admitted to this solemn ordinance until, by the menacing and formidable shouts of the exorcist, they had been delivered from the dominion of the prince of darkness, and consecrated to the service of God. The origin of this superstitious ceremony may be easily traced, when we consider the prevailing opinions of the times. The Christians, in general, were persuaded that rational souls deriving their existence from

God, must consequently be in themselves pure, holy, and endowed with the principles of liberty and virtue. But upon this supposition it was difficult to account for the corrupt propensities and actions of men any other way than by attributing them either to the malignant nature of matter, or the influence and impulse of some evil spirit who was perpetually compelling them to sin. The former of these opinions was embraced by the Gnostics, but was rejected by true Christians, who denied the eternity of matter, considered it as a creature of God, and therefore adopted the latter notion, that in all vicious persons there was a certain evil being, the author and source of their corrupt dispositions and their unrighteous deeds. The driving out this demon was now considered as an essential preparation for baptism, after the administration of which the candidates returned home adorned with crowns, and arrayed in white garments as sacred emblems ; the former, of their victory over sin and the world ; the latter, of their inward purity and innocence.

“Fasting began now to be held in more esteem than it had formerly been ; a high degree of sanctity was attributed to this practice, and it was even looked upon as of indispensable necessity, from a notion that the demons directed their stratagems principally against those who pampered themselves with delicious fare, and were less troublesome to the lean and the hungry, who lived under the severities of a rigorous abstinence. The Latins, contrary to the general custom, fasted the seventh day of the week ; and as the Greeks and Orientals refused to follow their example here, this afforded a new subject of contention between them.

“The Christians offered up their ordinary prayers at three stated times of the day, viz.—at the third, the sixth, and the ninth hour, according to the custom observed among the Jews. But, besides these stated devotions, true believers were assiduous in their addresses to the Supreme Being, and poured forth frequently their vows and supplications before his throne, because they considered prayer as the most essential duty, as well as the noblest employment of a sanctified nature. At those festivals which recalled the memory of some joyful event, and were to be celebrated with expressions

of thanksgiving and praise, they prayed standing, as they thought that posture the fittest to express their joy and their confidence. On days of contrition and fasting, they presented themselves upon their knees before the throne of the Most High, to express their profound humiliation and self-abasement. Certain forms of prayer were, undoubtedly, used in many places both in public and in private; but many also expressed their pious feelings in the natural effusions of an unpremeditated eloquence.

“The sign of the cross was supposed to administer a victorious power over all sorts of trials and calamities, and was more especially considered as the surest defence against the snares and stratagems of malignant spirits. And hence it was, that no Christian undertook anything of moment without arming himself with the influence of this triumphant sign.”

As the prophecy does not direct us to the investigation, we need not follow the historian through his fifth and last chapter, “concerning the divisions and heresies that troubled the church during this century.” It may be stated, however, that he sets forth the doctrines held respectively by the Manichæans, the Hieracites, the Sabellians, the Paulians or Paulianists, the Arabians, and the Novatians; and whilst styling them collectively “sects that arose in this century which created new troubles and fomented new divisions,” he particularly styles the Manichæans “as more vehement and odious than the rest.” He also mentions “that the Novatians assumed the title of *Cathari*, i.e., the pure.”

Having now before us the history of the church in the third century, we cannot but again admire the perfection of the prophecy, which, by the simple terms “forty and two months,” has directed us to the source of, not one only, but every error, which we have seen to have been exposed by Luther in the sixteenth century. This fact alone is sufficient to establish, conclusively, the connection between the two centuries commencing and terminating the prophetic period of 1260 years, and also exhibits a peculiarity sufficiently marked to enable us to identify the latter half of

the third century as the commencement of that period, and, at the same time, demonstrates the correctness of our interpretations to that effect.

Whilst this, however, is apparent, it is our duty to compare the histories of the two centuries more particularly, that we may not fail to recognise the lessons conveyed by the several points of connection which they disclose; for it must be remembered, that the spirit of this remarkable revelation is not to develop strange combinations of events for the satisfaction of curious observers, but, by their aid, to give divine instruction to those who seek it, and who will receive it, on the adopted or controverted doctrines of each succeeding age.

On instituting this important comparison, in accordance with our duty so prescribed, it must, however, be borne in mind, that the circumstances, in themselves, not being Apocalyptically mentioned, must be regarded as accessories to but in no way limiting the broader signification of the prophecy, which applies itself rather to spiritual discernment than to visible development.

This remarked, the following points of connection in the histories of the third and sixteenth centuries now before us present themselves for observation, and for our edification. “He that hath an ear, let him hear what the spirit saith unto the churches.”

Referring to the preceding lecture, we have seen Luther combating with and exposing the dominant spirits of his age, under the inspiration of the gospel angel, who “set his right foot upon the sea, and his left foot on the earth.” His first opponents were the representatives of philosophy, schools, and sophistry. Though this is generally apparent throughout the historic testimony therein supplied, the following extracts may be repeated as more immediately illustrative :—

“The studies in which Luther was obliged to engage, were afterwards of great service to him in combating the errors of the schoolmen. Here, however, he could not stop. The same power which formerly pushed him from the bar into the monastic life, now pushed him from philosophy towards

the Bible. He zealously commenced the study of ancient languages, that he might be able to draw science and learning from the fountain head." (p. 31.)

"This monk, said Mellerstadt, will send all the doctors to the right-about. He will introduce a new doctrine, and reform the whole church; for he founds upon the word of God, and no man in the world can either combat or overthrow this word, even though he should attack it with all the weapons of philosophy, the Sophists, Scotists, Albertists, Thomists, and the whole fraternity." (p. 32.)

"He boldly broke the links by which the systems of the schools chained down human thought; passed beyond the limits to which past ages had attained; and formed new paths for himself." (p. 41.)

"He directed his discourses against the superstitions with which Christendom then abounded, against signs and mysterious characters, observation of certain days and certain months, familiar demons, etc. He attacks these idols one after the other, and vigorously casts down these false gods." (p. 42.)

"The disputation took place in 1516, and was Luther's first attack on the reign of the Sophists." (p. 44.)

"Luther, at this time, sent forth into the church ninety-nine propositions, in opposition to the Pelagian rationalism of scholastic theology." (p. 48.)

"The Reformation attacked rationalism before it attacked superstition." (P. 49.)

"In these theses, piety saw a blow given to all kinds of superstition, the new theology hailed in them the defeat of the scholastic dogmas." (p. 65.)

"The school, which for about five centuries had ruled Christendom, proudly rose up to crush the man who dared to assail it with floods of contempt. The school and the Word came to blows on more than one occasion, but the present was the occasion in which the combat commenced." (p. 79.)

"Scholastic theology, said Luther, sank entirely in my estimation, under the triumphant presidency of Dr. Eck." (p. 122.)

Thus are Luther's first opponents exhibited in our history

of the sixteenth century, and on turning to our history of the third, we find their origin. Thus p. 246 :—" And so, indeed, the case was ; for the disciples of Origen, breaking forth from the limits fixed by their master, interpreted in the most licentious manner the divine truths of religion according to the tenor of the Platonic philosophy. From these teachers, the *philosophical* or *scholastic theology*, as it is called, *derives its origin* ; and, proceeding hence, passed through various forms and modifications, according to the genius, turn, and erudition of those who embraced it."

The mouth of the river of philosophical dogmas and scholastic theological subtleties being thus found to be in the sixteenth century, and the source of that river to be in the third, a connection is established between the commencing and terminating points of the prophetic period of 1260 years, which admits neither of dispute nor extension. Following the figure, the river's course, from its source to its mouth is 1260 miles.

But this is not the only river which our history shows us to have mixed itself with the polluted waters of the sixteenth century, for we find Luther next attacking the fanaticism of the monks. Passing over the circumstances by which Luther, himself a monk, escaped from the thralldom of "fastings, macerations, and vigils," which the rules of his order imposed on him as necessary to salvation, and in obedience to which he became nigh unto death, the following extracts from our preceding lecture exhibit him in antagonism with the monkish orders generally, and exposing their rules and practices as contrary to the word of God :—

"Luther urged that the Holy Scripture alone shows the way to heaven, and exhorted the brethren to live together holily, chastely, and peacefully. Doubtless much seed was sown in the different Augustin convents during the journey of the Reformer. The monastic orders which had been long the stay of Rome, perhaps did more for the Reformation than against it. This is true especially of the Augustins. Almost all pious men of a free and exalted spirit turned to the gospel, and a new and noble blood soon circulated in their orders, which were, in a manner, the

arteries of German catholicity. In this way more than one cloister became a seminary of reformers. At the moment when that great blow was struck, pious and brave men came forth from their obscurity, and abandoned the retreat of the monastic life, for the active career of ministers of the word of God. Even during the inspection of 1516, Luther, by his words, awoke many slumbering spirits, and hence this year has been called, 'The morning star of the gospel day.' " (p. 44.)

"Myconius immediately began to profess the doctrine which Luther had proclaimed. The monks, alarmed when they heard him, argued with him and declaimed against Luther and against his convent. 'That convent,' replied Myconius, 'is like our Lord's sepulchre, they wish to prevent Christ from rising again, but will not succeed.' At last his superiors interdicted him for a year and a half, not permitting him even to write or receive letters, and threatening him with perpetual imprisonment." (p. 67.)

"James Hochstraten, inquisitor at Cologne, was furious when he saw Luther's boldness. The man, who was to hasten the ruin of the monks had appeared, but those sturdy champions would not quit the field without a fierce combat. This combat they continued to wage with him throughout his whole life, though the proper personification of it is in Hochstraten. Hochstraten and Luther—the one, the free and intrepid Christian—the other, the blustering slave of monkish superstition. Hochstraten unchains his rage, and with loud cries " ("fire proceedeth out of their mouth") "demands the death of the heretic. His wish is to secure the triumph of Rome by the flames. 'It is high treason against the church,' he exclaimed, 'to let so execrable a heretic live another single hour. Let a scaffold be instantly erected for him.' Luther replied to Hochstraten briefly but very energetically. 'Go,' says he to him, when concluding, 'go, delirious murderer, whose thirst can only be quenched by the blood of the brethren. My sincere desire is that you may never cease to denounce me as a heretic. Understand these things well, you enemy of the truth, and if your furious rage impel you to devise mischief against me, do it with circumspection, and time your

measures well. God knows what I purpose if he grants me my life. My hope and expectation will not deceive me.' Hochstraten was silent. Eck was the representative of the schools, Hochstraten of the monks." (p. 78.)

"The monks and all the partisans of Rome, re-echoing the clamour of Dr. Eck, Germany rang with invectives against Luther." (p. 125.)

"Luther endeavours to sweep away from the church all the rubbish by which it is encumbered. He begins with the monks. 'And now,' says he, 'I come to a lazy band which promises much but performs little. Be not angry, dear sirs, my intention is good; what I have to say is a truth at once sweet and bitter; viz., that it is no longer necessary to build cloisters for mendicant monks; to wander vagabond over the country never has done and never will do good.'" (p. 137.)

"The fanatical faction of the monks having immediately leagued with Dr. Eck, he felt strong in their alliance, and proceeded with new courage to importune the pope and the cardinals. The fanatics in the councils of the papacy vanquished, Leo gave way, and Luther's condemnation was resolved." (p. 141.)

Thus our history of the sixteenth century shows the fanatical orders of monks sustaining and endeavouring to resist the formidable attacks of Luther, who, armed with the word of God and inspired by the spirit of the gospel angel, stands forth the champion of truth and the enemy of error; and on again turning to our history of the third century, we find these opponents to have also had their rise at this time in the Christian church; for, in the paragraph succeeding that which showed us the origin of scholastic theology, we have:—

"The same principle gave rise to another species of theology, which was called mystic," (p. 246) and after a recital of their peculiar tenets, the historian says:—(p. 247) "This method of reasoning produced strange effects; and drove many into caves and deserts, where they macerated their bodies with hunger and thirst, and submitted to all the miseries of the severest discipline that a gloomy imagination could prescribe."

“Nor were the managers of controversy the only persons who employed the stratagems of artifice and lies; the mystics had recourse to the same pious frauds to support their sect. They attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, a man of almost apostolic weight and authority, treatises concerning the monastic life, the mystic theology, and other subjects of that nature, which were the productions of some senseless and insipid writers of after-times. Thus, it happened, through the pernicious influence of human passions, which too often mingle themselves with the execution of the best purposes and the most upright intentions, that they, who were desirous of surpassing all others in piety, looked upon it as lawful, and even laudable, to advance the cause of piety by artifice and fraud.” (p. 250.)

Thus is the river of monkish fanaticism and superstition shown to have also had its rise in the third century, and another point of connection to be thereby established between the commencing and terminating points of the prophetic period of 1260 years.

Again, in our history of the sixteenth century, we have at p. 126:—

“The sacrament of the Lord’s supper began at this time to engage Luther’s attention. He looked for it in the mass, but in vain. Shortly after his return from Leipsic, he mounted the pulpit; let us mark his words, for they are the first which he pronounced on a subject which afterwards divided the church into two parties. ‘In the holy sacrament of the altar,’ says he, ‘there are three things which it is necessary to know; the sign, which must be external, visible, and under a corporal form; the thing signified, which is internal, spiritual, and within the mind; and faith, which avails itself of both.’ Had the definitions not been pushed further, unity would not have been destroyed. Luther continues, ‘It were good that the church should by a general council decree that both kinds shall be distributed to all the faithful; not, however, on the ground that one kind is insufficient, for faith by itself would be sufficient.’ These bold words pleased his audience, though some were astonished and offended, and exclaimed, ‘This is false and

scandalous.' But Luther, not deeming it enough to expound the truth, attacks one of the most fundamental errors of Rome. The Roman church pretends that the sacrament operates by itself, independently of the disposition of him who receives it. Luther attacks this doctrine and maintains its opposite, viz.,—that faith and a right disposition of heart are indispensable. The discourse having been published, a general cry of heresy was raised. It is just the doctrine of Prague unadulterated, was the exclamation at the court of Dresden."

And at p. 14, quoting from Gibbon, we have:—

"Transubstantiation, the invisible change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, is a tenet which entangled the first Protestants in their own scruples. Luther maintained a corporeal and Calvin a real presence of Christ in the eucharist; and the opinion of Zuinglius, that it is no more than a spiritual communion, a simple memorial, has slowly prevailed in the reformed churches."

Turning to our history of the third century, another point of connection between the commencement and termination of the prophetic period is disclosed; for, informed therein of the first digression from the primitive and gospel simplicity of this sacred institution, the relation existing between the seed and its fruit is established between the divisions, controversies, and errors exposed in the sixteenth century, and the innovations first introduced in the third, as thus shown at p. 251:—

"Several alterations were now introduced in the celebration of the Lord's supper, by those who had the direction of divine worship. The prayers used upon this occasion were lengthened; and the solemnity and pomp with which this important institution was celebrated were considerably increased; no doubt, with a pious intention to render it still more respectable, those who were in a penitential state, and those also who had not received the sacrament of baptism, were not admitted to the holy supper; and it is not difficult to perceive that these exclusions were *an imitation of what was practised in the heathen mysteries*. We find, by the accounts of Prudentius and others, that gold and silver vessels were now used in the administration of the Lord's supper."

Again, in the sixteenth century we have, at p. 137, in Luther's most remarkable appeal to the church, which we have been so often called on to quote:—"The marriage of ecclesiastics comes next in course. It is the first occasion on which Luther speaks of it. He says, 'Into what a state have the clergy fallen, and how many priests are burdened with women and children and remorse, while no one comes to their assistance? Let the pope and bishops run their course, and let those who will go to perdition; all very well; but I am resolved to unburden my conscience, and open my mouth freely, however pope, bishops, and others may be offended. I say, then, that according to the institution of Jesus Christ and the apostles, every town ought to have a pastor or bishop, and that this pastor may have a wife, as St. Paul writes to Timothy, "Let the bishop be the husband of one wife," and as is still practised in the Greek church. But the devil has persuaded the pope, as St. Paul tells Timothy (1 Tim. iv. 1--3), to forbid the clergy to marry. And hence, evils so numerous, that it is impossible to give them in detail. What is to be done? How are we to save the many pastors who are blameworthy only in this, that they live with a female to whom they wish with all their heart to be lawfully united? Ah! let them save their conscience! let them take this woman in lawful wedlock, and live decently with her, not troubling themselves whether it pleases or displeases the pope. The salvation of your soul is of greater moment than arbitrary and tyrannical laws, not imposed by the Lord."

And on yet turning once more to the third century, its prolific womb is found to have given birth to this evil also, for at p. 245 we have:—

"Marriage was permitted to all the various ranks and orders of the clergy, high and low. Those, however, who continued in a state of celibacy, obtained by this abstinence, a higher reputation of sanctity and virtue than others. This was owing to an almost general persuasion that they who took wives, were of all others the most subject to the influence of malignant demons. And as it was of infinite importance to the interests of the church, that no impure or

malevolent spirit entered into the bodies of such as were appointed to govern, or to instruct others, so the people were desirous that the clergy should use their utmost efforts to abstain from the pleasures of a conjugal life." Thus have our respective histories furnished a fourth point of connection between the third and sixteenth centuries, to which additional strength may be imparted by the analogy of result; for whilst Luther, in the sixteenth century, says, "And hence evils so numerous that it is impossible to give them in detail;" Mosheim, in the third century, says in continuation of the testimony above quoted:—

"Many of the sacred order, especially in Africa, consented to satisfy the desires of the people, and endeavoured to do this in such a manner as not to offer an entire violence to their inclinations. For this purpose they formed connections with those women who had made vows of perpetual chastity; and it was an ordinary thing for an ecclesiastic to admit one of these fair saints to the participation of his bed, still under the most solemn declarations, that nothing passed in this commerce that was contrary to the rules of chastity and virtue. These holy concubines were called by the Latins *mulieres subintroductæ*. This indecent custom alarmed the zeal of the more pious among the bishops, who employed the utmost efforts of their severity and vigilance to abolish it, though it was a long time before they entirely effected this laudable purpose."

Again, in the sixteenth century we have at p. 138:— "Luther then attacks fasts;" at p. 122, "I was born, says Luther, to enter the field of battle and contend with factions and demons;" at p. 149, Luther says, "Oh, if Charles V. were a man, and would for the love of Christ attack these demons;" and in Book ii., ch. 9, D'Aubigné records, "Shortly after Luther wrote to his friend, John Lange, 'Show a spirit of meekness towards the prior of Nuremberg. This is fitting, inasmuch as the prior has put on a sour and bitter spirit. Bitter is not expelled by bitter, that is to say, devil by devil; but sweet expels bitter, that is to say, the finger of God casts out demons;'" whilst in the third century we have at p. 250, "All the records of this century

mention the multiplication of rites and ceremonies in the Christian church. Several of the causes that contributed to this have been already pointed out ; to which, we may add as a principal one, the passion which now reigned for the Platonic philosophy, or rather for the popular Oriental superstition concerning demons, adopted by the Platonists, and borrowed unhappily from them by the Christian doctors. For there is not the least doubt, but that many of the rites now introduced into the church, *derived their origin* from the reigning opinions concerning the nature of *demons* and the powers and operations of invisible beings. Hence, the use of *exorcism and spells, the frequency of fasts, and aversion to wedlock*. Hence, the custom of avoiding all connection with those who were not yet baptised, or who lay under the penalty of excommunication, as persons supposed to be under the dominion of some malignant spirit. And hence, the rigour and severity of that discipline and penance that were imposed upon those who had incurred, by their immoralities, the censures of the church." And at p. 253, "Fasting began now to be held in more esteem than it had formerly been ; a high degree of sanctity was attributed to this practice ; and it was even looked upon as of indispensable necessity, from a notion that the demons directed their stratagems principally against those who pampered themselves with delicious fare, and were less troublesome to the lean and the hungry, who lived under the severities of a rigorous abstinence. The Latins, contrary to the general custom, fasted the seventh day of the week ; and as the Greeks and Orientals refused to follow their example here, this afforded a new subject of contention between them." And again at p. 254, "The sign of the cross was supposed to administer a victorious power over all sorts of trials and calamities, and was more especially considered as the surest defence against the snares and stratagems of malignant spirits. And hence it was that no Christian undertook anything of moment without arming himself with the influence of this triumphant sign."

Thus is a fifth point of connection established between the third and sixteenth centuries ; whilst a sixth is supplied by the testimony just quoted ; for as Mosheim says, "And

hence, the rigour and severity of that discipline and penance that were imposed upon those who had incurred, by their immoralities, the censures of the church ;” so the development of this seed, sown in the third century, is thus noticed by D’Aubigné in the sixteenth. In Book i., ch. 2, he says :—“Another great error arose to disturb the doctrine of grace. This was Pelagianism. But what most of all deformed Christianity was the system of penance which arose out of Pelagianism. Penance at first consisted in certain public signs of repentance. By degrees penance was extended to all sins, even the most secret, and was considered a kind of chastisement to which it was necessary to submit, in order to acquire the pardon of God through the absolution of priests. Works of penance, substituted in lieu of the salvation of God, kept multiplying in the church from the days of Tertullian *in the third century*. The thing now deemed necessary, was to fast, go bare foot, and wear no linen, etc., or to quit house and home for distant lands ; or, better still, to renounce the world and embrace the monastic state.

“To all this were added, in the eleventh century, voluntary flagellations. These, at a later period, became a real mania in Italy, which at that time was violently agitated. Nobles and peasants, young and old, even children of five, go two and two by hundreds, thousands, and tens of thousands, through villages, towns, and cities, with an apron tied round their waist (their only clothing) and visit the churches in procession in the dead of winter. Armed with a whip, they flagellate themselves without mercy, and the streets resound with cries and groans, such as to force tears from those who hear them.

“Still long before the evil had reached this height, men felt the oppression of the priests, and sighed for deliverance. The priests themselves had perceived that if they did not apply a remedy, their usurped power would be lost, and therefore they invented the system of barter, so well known under the name of *Indulgences*. What they said was this :—‘You penitents are not able to fulfil the tasks which are enjoined you. Well, then, we, priests of God, and your

pastors, will take the heavy burden on ourselves.' 'For a fast of seven weeks,' says Regino, Abbot of Prum, 'there will be paid by a rich man, twenty pence; by one less so, ten pence; by the poor, three pence; and so in like proportion for other things.'

"The pope soon discovered the advantages which he might draw from these indulgences. In the thirteenth century, Alexander Hales, the irrefragable doctor, invented a doctrine well fitted to secure this vast resource to the papacy; and a bull of Clement VII. declared it an article of faith. Jesus Christ, it was said, did far more than was necessary to reconcile God to men; for that a single drop of his blood would have sufficed; but he shed much blood in order to found a treasury for his church, a treasury which even eternity should not be able to exhaust. The supererogatory merits of the saints served also to augment this treasury, the custody and administration of which have been entrusted to Christ's vicar upon earth.

"This inconceivable traffic soon extends, and becomes more complex. The philosophers of Alexandria speak of a fire in which souls are to be made pure. This philosophical opinion, which several ancient doctors had adopted, Rome declared to be a doctrine of the church. The pope, by a bull, annexed purgatory to his domain. He decreed that men should there expiate what he might not be able to expiate here below, but that indulgences could deliver souls from that intermediate state in which their sins must otherwise detain them.

"In order to give regularity to this traffic, there was shortly after drawn up the famous and scandalous taxation of indulgences, of which there have been more than forty editions. Ears the least delicate would be offended were we to repeat all the horrible things contained in it."

As the historic record of Tezel's sale of "*indulgences*," and his rage at Luther's interference with his traffic, will be still fresh in our memories, its repetition here to show the prevalence of that error in the sixteenth century will not be deemed necessary. Dr. Eck's defeat on "*purgatory*" by Luther in the Leipsic discussion will be also remembered,

and accepted as a sufficient exhibition of the prevalence of that error in the sixteenth century. "*Penance*," therefore, only remains. On this subject D'Aubigné says in Book iii., ch. 1:—"If among those who pressed forward to the confessionals there happened to be any one whose crime was publicly known, though of a kind which the civil law could not reach, he behaved first of all to do penance. For this purpose they first led him to a chapel or sacristy, where they stripped him of his clothes and took off his shoes, leaving him nothing but his shirt. His arms were crossed upon his breast, a light placed in one hand and a *rod* in the other. Then the penitent walked at the head of the procession, which proceeded to the red cross. He remained on his knees till the chant and collect were finished. Then the commissary gave out the Psalm, *Miserere mei*. The confessors immediately approached the penitent and led him across the church towards the commissary, who, taking the rod from his hand" (mark the illustrative rod) "and gently striking him thrice on the back with it, said to him, 'The Lord have pity on thee, and forgive thy sin.' The penitent was led back to the front of the cross, and the confessor gave him the apostolic absolution, and declared him restored to the company of the faithful. Sad mummary—concluded with a holy expression which, at such a moment, was mere profanation."

Thus are "penances," "indulgences," and "purgatory" shown to have passed under the chastisement of Luther's rod in the sixteenth century. The two latter being, as we have seen, the offspring of the former, the whole may be considered to have had their origin in the third century, in which "rigorous and severe penance and discipline were first imposed upon those who had incurred the censures of the church," and thereby to have established the sixth point of connection between the commencement and termination of the prophetic period.

A seventh point of connection arises, from our history of the sixteenth century showing Luther also exposing the errors of "excommunication," as then practised. Thus at p. 82 we have:—"On the 15th Luther delivered a discourse

on excommunication, which made a profound impression. 'Nobody,' says he, 'can reconcile *a lapsed soul*, save God himself. Nobody can separate man from communion with God, unless it be man himself by his own sins! Happy he who dies unjustly excommunicated! While, for righteousness' sake, he endures a heavy infliction on the part of man, he receives the crown of eternal felicity from the hand of God.' Some highly applauded this bold language, while others were more irritated by it." D'Aubigné adds, "He distinguished between internal and external excommunication; the former, excluding from communion with God, and the latter excluding only from the ceremonies of the church."

And as Mosheim, in his history of the third century, says in Part i., ch. 2, "The defection of such a prodigious number of Christians under Decius was the occasion of great commotion in the church, and produced debates of a very difficult nature. For *the lapsed*, or those that had fallen from their Christian profession, were desirous to be restored to church-communion, without submitting to that painful course of penitential discipline which the ecclesiastical laws indispensably required. The bishops were divided upon this matter; some were for showing the desired indulgence, while others opposed it with all their might. In Egypt and Africa, many, in order to obtain more speedily the pardon of their apostasy, interested the martyrs in their behalf, and received from them "letters of reconciliation and peace," i.e. a formal act, by which the martyrs declared in their last moments that they looked upon them as worthy of their communion, and desired, of consequence, that they should be restored to their place among the brethren. Some bishops and presbyters re-admitted into the church, with too much facility, apostates and transgressors who produced such testimonies as these. But Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, a man of severe wisdom, and great dignity of character, acted quite in another way. Though he had no intention to derogate from the authority of the venerable martyrs, yet he opposed with vigour this unreasonable lenity; and set limits to the efficacy of these letters of reconciliation and peace. Hence

arose a keen dispute between him and the martyrs, confessors, presbyters, and *lapsed*, seconded by the people; and yet, notwithstanding this formidable multitude of adversaries, the venerable bishop came off victorious;” so the two centuries are seen to be bound together by the relation of seed to its fruit in this instance also, and the seventh point of connection to be established.

Again, on turning to p. 143 in our history of the sixteenth century, we find the Roman pontiff thus invoking aid in favour of his famous bull against Luther:—“‘Arise, O Lord,’ speaking at this solemn moment, as vicar of God and head of the church, ‘Arise, and be judge in thy own cause. Remember the insults daily offered to thee by infatuated men! Arise, O Peter, remember thy holy Roman church, the mother of all churches, and the mistress of the faith! Arise, O Paul, for here is a new *Porphyry*, who is attacking thy doctrines, and the holy popes our predecessors! Arise, in fine, assembly of all the saints, holy church of God, and intercede with the Almighty!’”—and as our curiosity is at once excited to know who this *Porphyry* is, to whom the Roman pontiff compares Luther, on turning to our history of the third century, we are informed at p. 240, “These philosophers had at their head, in this century, *Porphyry*, a Syrian, or, as some allege, a Tyrian by birth, who wrote against the Christians a long and laborious work, which was destroyed afterwards by an edict of Constantine the Great. Many were the deceitful and perfidious stratagems by which this sect endeavoured to obscure the lustre, and to diminish the authority of the Christian doctrine.”

Thus is an eighth point of connection established between the two centuries. Though in itself simple, its testimony will be accepted as fraught with much interest and illustrative force. “*Porphyry*,” of the third century, so mentioned in the sixteenth, exhibits a combination of simplicity and power which, though the rule of prophetic terms, is seldom found in the pages of history.

And if it be thought by any that this parallel exhibits historic accident rather than prophetic design, and therefore, that the force of its evidence is not invested with the

character assigned to it, their view will probably be changed on reading the supporting testimony afforded by the following extract from Gibbon's 13th chapter. Under the heading of "Abdication of Diocletian," the historian says:—

"It was in the 21st year of his reign that Diocletian executed his memorable resolution of abdicating the empire; an action more naturally to have been expected from the elder or younger Antoninus, than from a prince who had never practised the lessons of philosophy either in the attainment or in the use of supreme power. Diocletian acquired the glory of giving to the world the first example of a resignation, which has not been very frequently imitated by succeeding monarchs. The parallel of CHARLES THE FIFTH, however, will naturally offer itself to our mind, not only since the eloquence of a modern historian has rendered that name so familiar to an English reader, but *from the very striking resemblance between the characters of the two emperors*, whose political abilities were superior to their military genius, and whose specious virtues were much less the effect of nature than of art. The abdication of Charles appears to have been hastened by the vicissitudes of fortune; and the disappointment of his favourite schemes urged him to relinquish a power which he found inadequate to his ambition. But the reign of Diocletian had flowed with a tide of uninterrupted success; nor was it till after he had vanquished all his enemies, and accomplished all his designs, that he seems to have entertained any serious thoughts of resigning the empire. Neither Charles nor Diocletian had arrived at a very advanced period of life; since the one was only fifty-five, and the other was no more than fifty-nine years of age; but the active life of those princes, their wars and journeys, the cares of royalty, and their application to business, had already impaired their constitution, and brought on the infirmities of a premature old age."

Diocletian, the great character of the latter part of the third and commencement of the fourth centuries and of the fifth seal, thus compared with Charles the Fifth, the great character of the sixteenth century and of the sixth trumpet, banishes all idea of accident, and enforces the admission of

prophetic design. If, therefore, we add the chronological feature exhibited by the abdication of Diocletian A.D. 305, and the abdication of Charles the Fifth A.D. 1555, giving an interval of 1250 years, an approximation to the prophetic period of 1260 years under consideration, not without weight in determining the interpreting relation of those events ; and if we consider the important influences exercised by both emperors on the spirit of the times in which they respectively lived, it may be justly held, not only that the character of the evidence claimed for this eighth point of connection, is established, but, also, that a simple accessory to the evidence of relationship of the third to the sixteenth centuries is converted into a supporting pillar to our general structure of Apocalyptic and historic correspondence.

Again, at p. 216, we have D'Aubigné saying in the sixteenth century, "The further the church was removed from the period when Jesus Christ, the true light of the world, dwelt in it, the more need she had of the lamp of the word of God, which was to transmit the brightness of Jesus Christ unimpaired to the latest ages. But this Divine word was then unknown to the people. Attempts at translation from the Vulgate, in 1477, 1490, and 1518, had succeeded ill, were almost unintelligible, and, from their high price, beyond the reach of the people. It had even been prohibited to give the Bible to the German church in the vulgar tongue. Luther was called to give the scriptures to his country. The same God who withdrew St. John to Patmos, there to write his revelation, had shut up Luther in the Wartburg to translate his word. He will employ his leisure in transferring the word of God into the language of his people." And at p. 248 we have Mosheim saying in the third century,—

"But let us turn away our eyes from these scenes of fanaticism, which are so opprobrious to human nature, and consider some other circumstances, that belong more or less to the history of Christian doctrine during this century. And here it is proper to mention the useful labours of those who manifested their zeal for the holy scriptures, by the care they took to have accurate copies of them multiplied every-

where, and that at such moderate prices as rendered them of easy purchase; as also to have them translated into different languages, and published in correct editions."

Thus is a ninth point of connection established between the two centuries, and our way well prepared to receive, ratify, and profit by the important lesson conveyed by a tenth, which, on continuing our comparison of the respective histories, is yet observable.

In the sixteenth century, commencing at p. 135, and in the subsequent pages, in which Luther's appeal to the church, so intimately connected with the prophecy, is recounted, we have:—

"Luther takes a review of all the abuses of Rome. With an eloquence of a truly popular description, he exposes evils which had for ages been notorious. Never had a nobler remonstrance been heard. The assembly which Luther addresses is the church; the power, whose abuses he attacks, is that papacy which had for ages been the oppressor of all nations. Luther begins with the pope; then he proceeds to depict the consequences of the papal domination. 'Italy,' said he, 'is almost a desert—the convents are destroyed—the bishoprics devoured—the towns in decay—the inhabitants corrupted—worship dying out—and preaching abolished. Why? Because all the revenues of the churches go to Rome. Never would the Turk himself have so ruined Italy.' Luther next turns to his countrymen. 'And now,' says he, 'that they have thus sucked the blood of their own country, they come into Germany. They begin gently, but let us be on our guard. Germany will soon become like Italy. We have already some cardinals. Their thought is—before the rustic Germans comprehend our design, they will have neither bishopric, nor convent, nor benefice, nor penny, nor farthing. Antichrist must possess the treasure of the earth. Thirty or forty cardinals will be elected in a single day, and then the pope will say, I am the vicar of Christ, and the pastor of his flocks—let the Germans be resigned!' He next comes to the reform of the pope himself. He strips the sovereign pontiff of his spoils. 'Let the pope renounce every species of title to the kingdom of

Naples and Sicily. He has no more right to it than I have. His possession of Bologna, Imola, Ravenna, Romagna, Marche d'Ancona, etc., is unjust and contrary to the commands of Jesus Christ. No man, says St. Paul, who goeth a warfare entangleth himself with the affairs of this life. And the pope, who pretends to take the lead in the war of the gospel, entangleth himself more with the affairs of this life than any emperor or king. He must be disencumbered of all this toil. The emperor should put a Bible and a prayer-book into the hands of the pope, that the pope may leave kings to govern, and devote himself to preaching and prayer.' Luther is as averse to the pope's ecclesiastical power in Germany, as to his temporal power in Italy. 'The first thing necessary is to banish from all the countries of Germany the legates of the pope, and the pretended blessings which they sell us at the weight of gold, and which are their imposture. They take our money for legalising ill-gotten gain, for loosing oaths, and teaching us to break faith, to sin, and to go direct to hell. Hearst thou, O pope! not pope most holy, but pope most sinful. May God, from his place in heaven, cast down thy throne into the infernal abyss!! The pope should be ready to renounce the popedom, and all his wealth, and all his honours, if he could thereby save a single soul. But he would see the universe go to destruction, sooner than yield a hair-breadth of his *usurped* power. I have often offered to make peace with my opponents, but, through their instrumentality, God has always obliged me to speak out against them. I have still a chant in reserve, and if they have an itching ear, I shall sing it to them at full pitch. Rome! do you understand me? If my cause is just, it must be condemned on the earth, and justified only by Christ in heaven. Therefore let pope, bishops, priests, monks, doctors, come forward, display all their zeal, and give full vent to their fury. Assuredly they are just the people who ought to persecute the truth, *as in all ages they have persecuted it*. The time of silence is past, the time of speaking has arrived. The mysteries of Antichrist must at length be unveiled.' Luther had calmly studied the origin,

progress, and usurpations of the papacy. His discoveries having filled him with surprise, he no longer hesitated to communicate them, and strike this blow, which was destined, like the *rod* of Moses of old, to awaken a whole nation out of a lethargy, *the result of long bondage.*"

Again, at p. 135, "' When tested by scripture, they replied, that none could interpret it but the pope. When threatened with a council, they again replied, that none but the pope could convene it. They have thus carried off from us three rods destined to chastise them, and abandoned themselves to all sorts of wickedness. But now may God be our help, and give us one of the trumpets which threw down the walls of Jericho. Let us blow down the walls of paper and straw, which the Romans have built around them, and lift up *the rods* which punish the wicked, by bringing the wiles of the devil to the light of day.' Luther shakes to the foundation that papal monarchy, which had *for ages* united the nations of the west into one body under *the sceptre of the Roman bishop*. He then vigorously expounds 'There is no sacerdotal caste in Christianity.' "

Again, at p. 77, "The combat between the Augustin of Wittemberg and the Dominican of Rome took place on the very question which lies at the foundation of the Reformation: what is the sole infallible authority to Christians? The opinion of Prierio is, that the pope is the depositary of the spirit of interpretation, and no man is entitled to understand scripture in a sense differing from that of the Roman pontiff. 'The Roman church,' said he, 'having in the pope the summit of spiritual and temporal power, may, by the secular arm, constrain those who, after receiving the faith, stray from it. She is not bound to employ arguments for the purpose of combating and subduing the rebellious.' "

Again, at p. 80, "Luther faithfully fulfilled his resolution to open the eyes of a people whom priests had blindfolded, and were leading at their pleasure. All the scaffoldings, which priests had, for their own profits, reared between God and the soul of man, were thrown down, and man brought face to face with his Maker. The monopoly of the sacerdotal caste was abolished, and the church emancipated."

Again, at p. 141, “No one exerted himself so much in seconding Dr. Eck, as the master of the sacred palace, De Prierio, who had just published a work, in which he maintained, that not only to the pope appertained the infallible decision of all debatable points, but also that papal ascendancy was the fifth monarchy of Daniel, and the only true monarchy; that the pope was the prince of all ecclesiastical, and the father of all secular princes; the chief of the world, and in substance the world itself. In another writing, he affirmed that the pope can appoint and depose emperors and electors, establish and annul positive rights; and that the emperor, with all the laws and all the nations of Christendom, cannot decide the smallest matter contrary to the pope’s will. Such was the voice which came forth from the palace of the sovereign pontiff, such the *monstrous fiction which, in union with scholastic dogmas, aimed at suppressing reviving truth.*”

Again, at p. 151, “The Reformer, in the presence of the witnesses, then dictated his protest to the notary in solemn tone: ‘Considering that a general council of the Christian church is above the pope, especially in all that concerns the faith; considering that the power of the pope is not above, but beneath scripture, and that he has no right to worry the sheep of Christ and throw them into the wolf’s mouth; I, Martin Luther, doctor of the Holy Scriptures at Wittemberg, do, by this writing, appeal for myself, and for all who shall adhere to me, from the most holy pope Leo, first, as an unjust, rash, tyrannical judge, who condemns me without hearing me and without explaining the grounds of his judgment; secondly, as a heretic, a strayed, obdurate apostate, condemned by the holy scriptures, inasmuch as he ordains me to deny that Christian faith is necessary to the use of the sacraments; thirdly, as an enemy, an antichrist, an adversary, a tyrant of the holy scripture, who dares to oppose his own word to all the words of God; fourthly, as a despiser, a calumniator, a blasphemer of the holy Christian church, and a free council, inasmuch as he pretends that a council is nothing in itself.’”

Again, at p. 153, “At the moment when the flames rose,

the redoubted Augustin, dressed in his frock, was seen to approach the pile, holding in his hands the Canon Law, the Decretals, the Clementines, the Extravagants of the popes, some writings of Eck, and the papal bull. The decretals having been the first consumed, Luther held up the bull, and saying, 'Since thou hast grieved the Lord's anointed, let the eternal fire grieve and consume thee,' threw it into the flames. Never was war declared with more energy and resolution."

Again, at p. 154, "Having finished his lecture, Luther said firmly, 'Be on your guard against the laws and statutes of the pope. I have burned the decretals, but it is mere child's play. It is time, and more than time, to burn the pope. I mean,' he instantly resumed, 'the see of Rome, with all its doctrines and abominations.' Then assuming a solemn tone, he said, 'If you do not with all your heart combat the impious government of the pope, you cannot be saved. Whoever takes pleasure in the religion and worship of the papacy will be eternally lost in the life to come. If we reject it, we may expect all kinds of dangers, and even the loss of life. But it is far better to run such risks in the world than to be silent! As long as I live, I will warn my brethren of the sore and plague of Babylon, lest several who are with us fall back with the others into the abyss of hell.' "

Again, at p. 155, "Melancthon addressed the states of the empire. 'Luther,' says he, 'implores your faith and zeal, and all pious men implore with him, some with loud voices, and others with groans and sighs. Remember, princes of the Christian people, that you are Christians, and rescue the sad wrecks of Christianity from the tyranny of antichrist. You are deceived by those who pretend that you have no authority over priests. The same spirit which animated Jehu against the priests of Baal, urges you, in imitation of that ancient example, to abolish the Roman superstition—a superstition far more horrible than the idolatry of Baal.' "

Again, at p. 164, "Luther proved by the Revelations of Daniel and St. John, by the epistles of St. Paul, St. Peter and St. Jude, that the reign of antichrist predicted and described in the Bible, was the papacy."

Again, at p. 166, “‘I tell you,’ said Ulric Von Hütten to the legates, ‘and tell you again, the mists with which you blinded us are cleared away—the gospel is preached—the truth proclaimed—the absurdities of Rome treated with contempt—your ordinances languish and die—liberty begins.’”

Again, at p. 146, Luther says, “‘Now, after reading all the subtleties by which these sparks prop up their idol, I know that the papacy is only the kingdom of Babylon, and the tyranny of the great hunter, Nimrod. I, therefore, beg all my friends and all booksellers to burn the books which I wrote prior to obtaining this knowledge, and to substitute for them the single proposition—the papacy is a general chace, by command of the Roman pontiff, for the purpose of running down and destroying souls.’”

Again, at p. 172, Luther says, “‘For it is not in a spirit of rashness, or with a view to personal advantage, that I have taught the doctrine with which I am reproached; I have done it in obedience to my conscience and to the oath which, as doctor, I took to the Holy Scriptures; I have done it for the glory of God, the safety of the Christian church, the good of the German nation, and the extirpation of many superstitions, abuses, and evils, disgrace, tyranny, blasphemy, and impiety.’”

Again, at p. 177, Duke George of Saxony, the enemy of Luther, addressing the Diet of Worms, says:—“‘Such are some of the crying abuses of Rome, all sense of shame has been cast off, and one thing only is pursued, money, money. Hence, preachers, who ought to teach the truth, now do nothing more than retail lies, which are not only tolerated but recompensed, because the more they lie the more they gain. From this polluted well comes forth all the polluted water. Debauchery goes hand in hand with avarice. Ah! the scandals caused by the clergy precipitate multitudes of poor souls into eternal condemnation. There must be a universal reform, and this reform must be accomplished by a general council.’”

Again, at p. 182, Luther says, “‘They are doing all they can at Worms to compel me to retract. Here then will be my

retractation. I once said that the pope was the vicar of Christ, now I say that he is the enemy of the Lord, and the apostle of the devil.' ”

Again, at p. 18, the testimony of Mezeray, the Roman Catholic historian, is, “ And truly the extreme ignorance of the clergy, many of them scarce able to read, the scandalous lives of the pastors, most of them concubinaries, drunkards, and usurers, and their extreme negligence gave Luther a fair advantage to persuade the people that the religion they taught was corrupt, since their lives and examples were so bad.”

Again, at p. 33, “ Luther was received in a rich convent of Benedictines, situated upon the Pô in Lombardy. The gorgeousness of the apartments, the beauty of the dresses, and the rarities of the table, all astonished him. Marble, and silk, and luxury under all its forms. He was astonished, and said nothing. But when Friday came, how surprised was he to see abundance of meat still covering the tables of the Benedictines. Then he resolved to speak out. ‘ The church and the pope,’ said he to them, ‘ forbid such things.’ The Benedictines were indignant.”

Again, at p. 34, on the occasion of Luther’s visit to Rome. “ But how grieved was the Saxon monk at seeing the profane formality of the Roman priests. The priests on their part laughed at his simplicity. One day when he was officiating, he found that at the altar next to him seven masses had been read before he got through a single one. ‘ Get on, get on,’ cried one of the priests to him, ‘ make haste and send our Lady back her Son,’ making an impious allusion to the transubstantiation of the bread into the body and blood of Jesus Christ. His astonishment was still greater when in the dignitaries of the church he discovered the same thing that he had found in common priests. It was fashionable at the papal court to attack Christianity, and in order to pass for a complete gentleman, absolutely necessary to hold some erroneous or heretical opinion on the doctrines of the church. One day, in particular, he happened to be at table with several prelates, who frankly exhibited themselves to him in their mountebank manners

and profane conversations. Among other things, they related in the presence of the monk, laughing and making a boast of it, how when they were saying mass, instead of the sacramental words, which should transform the bread and wine into the Saviour's flesh and blood, they parodied them and said, 'Bread thou art, and bread thou wilt remain; wine thou art, and wine thou wilt remain.' Then continued they, 'we raise the ostensorium, and all the people worship it.' Luther could scarcely believe his ears."

Again, at p. 69, "'I began this affair,' said Luther, 'with great fear and trembling. Who was I, a poor, miserable, despicable friar, liker a corpse than a living man; who was I to oppose the majesty of the pope, before whom not only the kings of the earth and the whole world, but also, if I may so speak, heaven and hell trembled, compelled to yield obedience to his nod? Nobody can imagine what I suffered during these first two years. No idea of it can be formed by those proud spirits who afterwards attacked the pope with great boldness, although with all their ability they could not have done him the least harm, had not Jesus Christ, by me, his feeble and unworthy instrument, given him a wound which never will be cured.'"

Again, at p. 163, "This skilful manœuvre" (Luther was attacked in the solitary tribunals of the confessional) "promised to restore to the papal yoke whole districts gained to the gospel. Rome congratulated herself on having, in the thirteenth century, erected a tribunal destined to bring the free consciences of Christians under subjection to the priests. While it continues in force, her reign is not ended."

Thus has our history of the sixteenth century shown Luther, in the exercise of his delegated power, exposing the errors of the visible professing Christian church, together with the usurped authority, power, and corruptions of her mighty head and priesthood. Directed by the prophecy, we find that these polluted waters also had their rise and origin in the third century. At p. 242 we have:—

"The form of ecclesiastical government that had been adopted by Christians in general had now acquired greater degrees of stability and force, both in particular churches

and in the universal society of Christians collectively considered. It appears incontestible, from the most authentic records and the best histories of this century, that, in the larger cities, there was at the head of each church a person to whom was given the title of bishop, who ruled this sacred community with a certain sort of authority, in concert, however, with the body of presbyters, and consulting, in matters of moment, the opinion and the voices of the whole assembly. It is also equally evident that in every province one bishop was invested with a certain superiority over the rest, in point of rank and authority. This was necessary to that association of churches that had been introduced in the preceding century ; and contributed, moreover, to facilitate the holding of general councils ; and to give a certain degree of order and consistence to their proceedings. It must, at the same time, be carefully observed that the rights and privileges of these primitive bishops were not everywhere accurately fixed, nor determined in such a manner as to prevent encroachments and disputes ; nor does it appear that the chief authority in the province was always conferred upon that bishop who presided over the church established in the metropolis. It is further to be noticed as a fact beyond all dispute, that the bishops of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria, considered as rulers of primitive and apostolic churches, had a kind of pre-eminence over all others, and were not only consulted frequently in affairs of a difficult and momentous nature, but were also distinguished by peculiar rights and privileges.

“ With respect, particularly, to the bishop of Rome, he is supposed by Cyprian to have had, at this time, a certain pre-eminence in the church ; nor does he stand alone in this opinion. But it is to be carefully observed, that even those who, with Cyprian, attributed this pre-eminence to the Roman prelate, insisted, at the same time, with the utmost warmth, *upon the equality, in point of dignity and authority, that subsisted among all the members of the episcopal order.* The pre-eminence of the bishop of Rome was a pre-eminence of *order and association, and not of power and authority.* Or, to explain the matter yet more clearly, the pre-eminence of

the bishop of Rome, in the universal church, was such as that of Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, was to the African churches. And everyone knows that the precedence of this latter prelate diminished in nothing the equality that subsisted among all the African bishops, invalidated in no instances their rights and liberties, but gave only to Cyprian, as the president of their general assemblies, a power of calling councils, of presiding in them, of admonishing his brethren in a mild and fraternal manner, and of executing, in short, such offices as the order and purposes of these ecclesiastical meetings generally required."

It will be observed, that the tyrannical power and authority of the head of the visible church and her priesthood, exercised in the sixteenth century, is here shown to have had no existence at this point of the third century, neither is there any trace of her corrupted doctrines; but, on continuing our history, the seeds are at once disclosed, for we next find:—

"The face of things began now to change in the Christian church. The ancient method of ecclesiastical government seemed, in general, still to subsist, while at the same time, by imperceptible steps, it varied from the primitive rule, and degenerated towards the form of a *religious monarchy*. For the bishops aspired to higher degrees of power and authority than they had formerly possessed, and not only violated the rights of the people, but also made gradual encroachments upon the privileges of the presbyters. And that they might cover these usurpations with an air of justice and an appearance of reason, *they published new doctrines concerning the nature of the church and of the episcopal dignity*, which, however, were, in general, so obscure, that they themselves seemed to have understood them as little as those to whom they were delivered. One of the principal authors of this change in the government of the church was Cyprian, who pleaded for the power of the bishops with more zeal and vehemence than had ever been employed in that cause, though not with an unshaken constancy and perseverance; for, in difficult and perilous times, necessity sometimes obliged him to yield, and to submit several things to the judgment and authority of the church.

“This change in the form of ecclesiastical government was soon followed by a train of vices which dishonoured the character and authority of those to whom the administration of the church was committed. *For though several yet continued to exhibit to the world illustrious examples of primitive piety and Christian virtue, yet many were sunk in luxury and voluptuousness, puffed up with vanity, arrogance, and ambition, possessed with a spirit of contention and discord, and addicted to many other vices that cast an undeserved reproach upon the holy religion, of which they were the unworthy professors and ministers.* This is testified in such an ample manner by the repeated complaints of many of the most respectable writers of this age, that truth will not admit us to spread the veil which we should otherwise ” (mark the impartiality of the testimony) “be desirous to cast over such enormities among an order so sacred. The bishops assumed in many places a princely authority, particularly those who had the greatest number of churches under their inspection, and who presided over the most opulent assemblies. *They appropriated to their evangelical function the splendid ensigns of temporal majesty. A THRONE, surrounded with ministers, exalted above his equals, the servant of the meek and humble Jesus ; and sumptuous garments dazzled the eyes and the minds of the multitude into an ignorant veneration for their arrogated authority.* The example of the bishops was ambitiously imitated by the presbyters, who, neglecting the sacred duties of their station, abandoned themselves to the indolence and delicacy of an effeminate and luxurious life. The deacons, beholding the presbyters deserting thus their functions, boldly usurped their rights and privileges ; *and the effects of a corrupt ambition were spread through every rank of the sacred order.*”

Thus is established the tenth point of connection between the commencement and termination of the 1260 years, and the period denoted by “forty and two months,” previously interpreted “for ages past,” now more precisely defined. Thus is the fact circumstantially demonstrated, that not one only, but every error exposed by Luther in the sixteenth century had its rise in the third century, and a peculiarity exhibited sufficiently marked to enable us to identify the

latter half of that century as the commencement of the prophetic period. Thus are the remarks justified by which attention was drawn to the admirable perfection of the prophecy, which, by the simple terms “forty and two months,” had directed us to that source, and thereby conveyed to us the important lessons now made apparent. Thus is the spirit of the prophecy revealed to us, for as a river cannot be traced beyond its source, so no trace of the papal doctrines and exalted pretensions of the papal head and papal priesthood can be found in history beyond the third century. Adopting Luther’s style, we may therefore exclaim, let pope, cardinals, bishops, priests, monks, ritualists, and people observe the testimony which God in prophecy and God in history has declared respecting them.

The 1260 years embraced by the prophecy being so remarkably demonstrated, and the character of the period being declared by “And the holy city shall they tread under foot,” no surprise can be entertained that our history of the latter half of the third century commences (p. 237) with “The accession of Decius Trajan to the imperial throne, in the year 249, raised a new tempest, in which the fury of persecution fell in a dreadful manner on the church of Christ. For this emperor, either from an ill-grounded fear of the Christians, or from a violent zeal for the superstition of his ancestors, published most terrible and cruel edicts; by which the prætors were ordered, upon pain of death, either to extirpate the whole body of Christians without exception, or to force them by torments of various kinds to return to the pagan worship. Hence, in all the provinces of the empire, multitudes of Christians were, during the space of two years, put to death by the most horrid punishments which an ingenious barbarity could invent. The most unhappy circumstance of all these cruelties was their fatal influence upon the faith and constancy of many of the sufferers, for, as this persecution was *much more terrible* than all those that had preceded it, so a great number of Christians, dismayed, not at the approach of death, but at the aspect of those dreadful and lingering torments which a barbarous magistracy had prepared to combat their

constancy, fell from the profession of their faith, and secured themselves from punishment, either by offering sacrifices or by burning incense before the images of the gods, or by purchasing certificates from the pagan priests."

Whilst no room, however, exists for surprise, it will be observed that the effect of the concurrent testimony is emphatically to exhibit the instruments of the persecutions, the pagan church and priests, as one of the Apocalyptic candlesticks and olive trees, and thus to confirm our earlier conclusion to that effect, adopted subject to the result of subsequent investigation. It also exhibits "the holy city" as having then begun to be trodden under foot, and thereby presents the further illustration of that subject for our next consideration.

For this further illustration we need not follow the history of the holy city or of her oppressors through the centuries intervening between the third and the sixteenth. Having witnessed the commencement of the fulfilment of the predicted treading under foot in the third century, the revelations of the sixteenth, by being found in accordance, would sufficiently, for our purpose, denote the character of the intervening period, even if we had no other testimony; but our whole history, commencing with the persecution of the Christians under Diocletian in the fourth century, is more or less an illustrative comment on this subject. The only point, therefore, upon which the prophecy imposes on us more particularly to acquaint ourselves, previous to entering into the sixteenth century, is the fusion of the Pagan and Roman churches, as before explained.

The seeds of this fusion were recognised by the historian so early as the third century, for at p. 239 we have:—"While the Roman emperors and proconsuls employed against the Christians the terror of unrighteous edicts, and the edge of the destroying sword, the Platonic philosophers exhausted against Christianity all the force of their learning and eloquence, and all the resources of their art and dexterity, in rhetorical declamations, subtle writings, and ingenious stratagems. These artful adversaries were so much the more dangerous and formidable, as they had adopted several of

the doctrines and institutions of the gospel, and with a specious air of moderation and impartiality were attempting, after the example of their master, Ammonius, to *reconcile Paganism with Christianity, and to form a sort of coalition of the ancient and the new religion.*

Again, in the fourth century, Moshcim says in part ii, ch. 3—“An enormous train of different superstitions were gradually substituted in the place of true religion and genuine piety. This odious revolution was owing to a variety of causes. A ridiculous precipitation in receiving new opinions, *a preposterous desire of imitating the Pagan rites, and of blending them with the Christian worship, and that idle propensity, which the generality of mankind have towards a gaudy and ostentatious religion, all contributed to establish the reign of superstition upon the ruins of Christianity. The public processions and supplications, by which the Pagans endeavoured to appease their gods, were now adopted into the Christian worship and celebrated with great pomp and magnificence in several places. The virtues that had formerly been ascribed to the heathen temples, to their lustrations, to the statues of their gods and heroes, were now attributed to Christian churches, to water consecrated by certain forms of prayer, and to the images of holy men. And the same privileges that the former enjoyed under the darkness of Paganism, were conferred upon the latter under the light of the gospel, or rather, under that cloud of superstition that was obscuring its glory.*”

Again, in ch. 4, he says, “While the Roman emperors were studious to promote the honour of Christianity, by the auspicious protection they afforded to the church, and their most zealous efforts to advance its interests, the inconsiderate and ill-directed piety of the bishops cast a cloud over the beauty and simplicity of the gospel, by the prodigious numbers of rites and ceremonies which they had invented to embellish it. And here we may apply that well-known saying of Augustine, that ‘the yoke under which the Jews formerly groaned was more tolerable than that imposed upon many Christians in his time.’ *The rites and institutions by which the Greeks, Romans, and other nations had formerly testified their religious veneration for fictitious deities, were now*

adopted, with some slight alterations, by Christian bishops, and employed in the service of the true God. We have already mentioned the reason alleged for this imitation, so proper to disgust all who have a just sense of the native beauty of genuine Christianity. These fervent heralds of the gospel, whose zeal outran their candour and ingenuity, imagined that the nations would receive Christianity with more facility, when they saw the rites and ceremonies to which they were accustomed, adopted in the church, and the same worship paid to Christ and his martyrs, which they had formerly offered to their idol deities. Hence it happened, that in these times the religion of the Greeks and Romans differed very little in its external appearance from that of the Christians. They had both a most pompous and splendid ritual. Gorgeous robes, mitres, tiaras, wax-tapers, crosiers, processions, lustrations, images, gold and silver vases, and many such circumstances of pageantry were equally to be seen in the heathen temples and the Christian churches.

“No sooner had Constantine the Great abolished the superstitions of his ancestors, than magnificent churches were everywhere erected for the Christians, which were richly adorned with pictures and images, and bore a striking resemblance of the pagan temples, both in their outward and inward form.”

On this subject, Gibbon's testimony (p. 153, vol. i.) may be again quoted. “The sublime and simple theology of the primitive Christians was gradually corrupted, and the monarchy of heaven, already clouded by metaphysical subtleties, was degraded by the introduction of a popular mythology, which tended to restore the reign of Polytheism. As the objects of religion were gradually reduced to the standard of the imagination, the rites and ceremonies were introduced that seemed most powerfully to affect the senses of the vulgar. The religion of Constantine achieved in less than a century the final conquest of the Roman empire, but the victors themselves were insensibly subdued by the arts of their vanquished” (pagan) “rivals.”

We may also refer to the remarks suggested by the history of the period which we find at p. 157, vol. i., “Notwith-

standing the many other remarkable interpositions of Providence in the Christians' favour, the simplicity and purity of the Christian faith was retained by the few only, and all the characteristics of pagan power, pagan tyranny, and pagan superstition were adopted and practised under the name of Christianity by her multitude of professors." Also to those of Dr. Cumming, who in his *Apocalyptic Sketches*, p. 54, says:—"Satan had succeeded in corrupting what he could not extirpate; and out of an amalgamation of Paganism, Judaism, and Christianity, had concocted a system too unholy to be of heaven, and too subtle to be of earth—his own masterpiece—popery."

And to Dr. Elliott's, the pioneer of the former, part i. p. 267:—"So did instealing Judaism, by the infusion of its spirit into the religion which had subverted it, furnish one primary principle of the apostacy; and Heathenism too, find occasion, even, thus early, to enter in and assist. And together they helped forward, and with *singular union of effect*, that which was the grand object of the apostasy with him who devised it, viz., the obscuration and supercession of Christ Jesus."

Having thus more particularly acquainted ourselves with the fusion of the Pagan and Roman churches, the justice of the following remarks, made at p. 231, will be at once recognised:—"This determined, the marvellous accuracy of Apocalyptic language is again apparent in its testimony to the composite character of the church, under whose witnessing the treading under foot of the holy city was terminated; for as we have already seen, and as will be more particularly shown, that the Roman church, which succeeded to the Pagan, was in reality a continuation of the latter, under another name and garb, precisely in accordance with the characteristic "clothed in sackcloth," and was therefore from that time a compound of Paganism and professed Christianity, so it appears impossible to conceive anything more admirable than the manner in which this is prophetically revealed; for whilst the fact is indisputably foreshown by the subsequent history of the olive trees and candlesticks being carried on conjointly, it is only by the exercise of the

divine precept, "Seek and ye shall find," that this important, and otherwise hidden, indication is brought to light."

We may now seek in our history of the sixteenth century the further illustration required to complete the record of the fulfilment of the prophetic terms, "And the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months."

As we have already witnessed the commencement of the fulfilment in the third century, so its termination in the sixteenth becomes apparent on justly estimating the force of the following extracts from Lec. xii. Thus, at p. 19 we have:—

"The papacy is an immense wall raised between man and God *by the labour of ages.*" At p. 22, "Luther says, 'Under the papacy the Bible was generally unknown.' 'Who now reads the Bible?' said the librarian Alberico, 'it is a book almost disused.' Pellicanus states, 'That just before the Reformation, a Greek testament could not be procured at any price through all Germany.'" At p. 34, "Luther's was a work of no small difficulty to escape from the dark night which had for so many ages covered the earth."

At p. 39, "Accordingly, this oath taken to the Holy Scriptures, may be regarded as one of the causes of the renovation of the church. The infallible authority of the word of God alone was the first and fundamental principle of the Reformation. One is scarcely able at the present time to form an idea of the sensation produced by this elementary principle, which is so simple in itself, but *which had been lost sight of for so many ages.*" At p. 47, "The long struggle which Bohemia had maintained with Rome, from the days of John Huss, had had some influence on the prince of Saxony, and he had often shown a desire for a reformation."

At p. 104, "These uneasy thoughts merely crossed Luther's mind. *Escaped from the terrible hand of Rome, which had already crushed so many thousand witnesses of the truth, and drenched herself with blood,* now that he is free, now that he sees himself wonderfully delivered, his whole soul magnifies the Lord."

At p. 116, "Nor was it Luther that deprived Rome of her power, *and compelled her bishop to descend from an usurped throne. The doctrines which he announced, the doctrine of the*

apostles, again divinely proclaimed throughout the church with great force and admirable purity, alone could prevail against a power, by which the church had been for ages enslaved."

At p. 119, "'Thanks to Eck,' said Luther, 'this affair will at length become serious, and give a fatal blow to the tyranny of Rome and the Roman pontiff.'"

At p. 123, "'I believed,' said Luther, 'and without knowing it, taught all the doctrines of John Huss. I am confounded at it, and know not what to think. O what dreadful judgments have not men merited from God! Evangelical truth, when unfolded and published more than a century ago, was condemned, burned, and suppressed. Woe, woe, to the earth.' Luther disengaged himself from the papacy, regarding it with decided aversion and holy indignation. All the witnesses, who in *every age* had risen up against Rome, came successively before him to testify against her, and unveil some of her abuses or errors. 'O, darkness!' exclaimed he. Luther has fixed this as the moment of his emancipation from the papal yoke. 'Learn by me,' said he, 'how difficult it is to disencumber oneself of *errors which the whole world* confirms by its example, and which, from long habit, have become a second nature.'"

At p. 146, "'The Christian people,' says Luther, 'is the people of God led away into captivity to Babylon, and there robbed of their baptism.'"

At p. 157, Luther says, "'It is said also that I advance novelties. But I say that all *Christian doctrines have disappeared*, even among those who ought to have preserved them. I mean bishops, and the learned. I doubt not, however, that the truth has remained in some hearts, should it even have been in infants in the cradle. Poor peasants, mere babes, now understand Jesus Christ better than the pope, the bishops, and the doctors.'"

To these extracts may be added the last clause in D'Aubigné's first chapter, which is devoted to an outline of the corruptions of, and oppressions by, the Romish church in the ages preceding the Reformation. He says:—

"Thus everything in the church is changed. At first it was a community of brethren, and now an absolute

monarchy is established in its bosom. All Christians were priests of the living God (1 Peter ii. 9), with humble pastors for their guides; but a proud head has risen up in the midst of these pastors, a mysterious mouth utters language full of haughtiness, a hand of iron constrains all men, both small and great, rich and poor, bond and slave, to take the stamp of its power. The holy and primitive equality of souls before God is lost, and Christendom, at the bidding of a man, is divided into two unequal camps—in the one, a caste of priests, who dare to *usurp* the name of church and pretend to be invested in the eyes of the Lord with high privileges,—in the other, servile herds reduced to blind and passive submission, a people gagged and swaddled, and given over to a proud caste. Every tribe, language, and nation of Christendom fall under the domination of this spiritual king.”

Having thus found in the history of the sixteenth century abundant evidence of the visible professing Christian church having been recognised, exposed, and rejected as the oppressor for many ages of the true church, we may consider the terms, “And the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months,” to be now fully illustrated, which brings us to the two witnesses, or candlesticks and olive trees. It will be remembered that the rejection of the visible professing church was assigned to the true church by the terms, “But the court, which is without, leave out and measure it not, for it is given unto the Gentiles;” and the exposure of her true character, by the terms “And I will give power unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days, clothed in sackcloth,” by which the duration of her triumph in her false character is limited to 1260 years. This exposure having been abundantly demonstrated, history has now to show us, in order to satisfy the full requirements of the prophecy, that this visible church was, up to this time, believed to be the true church, in accordance with her name and profession. In this respect, also, we have history speaking pointedly and decisively. Thus we have, at p. 69, Luther saying:—

“ ‘It is true several pious Christians were much pleased

with my propositions, and set a great value upon them, but I could not own and regard them as the organs of the Holy Spirit. I looked only to the pope, the cardinals, bishops, theologians, jurisconsults, monks and priests. That was the direction from which I expected the Spirit to come. Still, having by means of Scripture come off victorious over all contrary arguments, I have at length, by the grace of Christ, though after much pain, travail and anguish, surmounted the only argument which arrested me, viz., that it is necessary to listen to the church; for from the bottom of my heart *I honoured the church of the pope as the true church*, and did so with much more sincerity and veneration than those shameless and infamous corrupters who are now so very forward in opposing me. Had I despised the pope as much as he is despised in the hearts of those who praise him so loudly with their lips, I would have dreaded that the earth would instantly swallow me up, as it did Corah and his company.’ ”

Again, at p. 96 we have, “Luther, agreeable to his resolution, had written his reply, and after the usual salutation, read with a firm voice: ‘I declare that I honour the holy Roman church, and will continue to honour it. I have sought the truth in public discussions, and all that I have said, I regard, even at this hour, as just, true, and Christian. Still I am a man and may be mistaken. I am therefore disposed to receive instruction and correction in the things in which I may have erred.’ ”

Again, at p. 110, “This bold protestation spread everywhere. In it, Luther declared that he had no intention to say anything against the holy church, or the authority of the apostolic see, or the pope, well advised. ‘But,’ continues he, ‘considering that the pope, who is *the vicar of God upon earth*, may, like any other vicar, err, sin, or lie, and that the appeal to a general council is the only safeguard against unjust proceedings, which it is impossible to resist, I feel myself obliged to have recourse to it.’ ”

Again, at p. 115 we have Luther writing to the pope, “‘Most holy father, I declare, before God and all his creatures, that I have never wished, and do not now wish,

either by force or guile, to attack the authority of the Roman church, or of your holiness. I acknowledge there is nothing in heaven nor on the earth, which ought to be put above this church, unless it be Jesus Christ the Lord of all.' ”

Thus has history illustrated this point also. But before passing to our next subject, a few additional extracts from Lecture xii. may be quoted in illustration of the visible professing church being at this time divested of her assumed character of a true witness. At p. 142 we have,—

“ Luther was under the guidance of a clearer intellect than his own. The pope was the instrument in the hand of Providence to sever every tie between the past and the future, and launch the Reformer on a new, unknown, and to him uncertain, career. The papal bull was a writing of divorce sent from Rome to the pure church of Jesus Christ, as personified in him who was then her humble but faithful representative. And the church accepted the writing on the understanding that she was thenceforth to depend on none but her heavenly Head.”

Again, at p. 155, “ But the moment when Luther burned the bull was that in which he declared in the most expressive manner his entire separation from the bishop of Rome and his church, and his attachment to the church universal, as founded by the apostles of Jesus Christ. After three centuries, the fire which he kindled at the east gate is still burning.”

Again, at p. 178, “ The great work of Luther consisted in his availing himself of this extreme point in the degeneracy of Christendom, in order to bring back the individual and the church to the primitive source of life, and to re-establish the reign of the Holy Spirit within the sanctuary of the heart. Here, as often happens, the cure sprung out of the disease, and the two extremes met. Henceforward the church, which during so many ages had been developed externally by ceremonies, observances, and human practices, began again to be developed within by faith, hope, and charity.”

Nor must we omit, before passing on, to draw attention to the general comment on the prophecy which is observable in the testimony at p. 142, “ Such was the voice which came

forth from the palace of the sovereign pontiff, such the monstrous fiction, which, in union with scholastic dogmas, aimed at suppressing reviving truth."

Nor to that at p. 243, "The ancient method of ecclesiastical government seemed in general still to subsist, while at the same time, by imperceptible steps, it varied from the primitive rule, and degenerated towards a religious monarchy;" when compared with that of p. 141, "De Prierio maintained that papal ascendancy was the fifth monarchy of Daniel, and the only true monarchy;" the former being the testimony of the third, and the latter of the sixteenth, century. Neither must we omit to compare the language of the papacy in the edict of Charles against Luther, with the language of history. The former says at p. 205, speaking of Luther, "This creature, who is not a man, but Satan himself, under the form of a man, covered with the cowl of a monk, has collected into one stinking pool all the worst heresies of past times, and has added several new ones of his own;" whilst the latter says, through the channels to which the prophecy has directed us, that the so-called heresies were the pure doctrines of the gospel, and that the corrupted waters of the sixteenth century proceeded from those who so misnamed them.

And whilst reading the declaration at p. 13, "To estimate rightly the value of the Reformation, we must watch in all its stages the long previous struggle by which it was prepared, and unveil the antagonist ascendancy in its earliest form," we cannot but see how remarkably the simple terms of the prophecy has led us in the path so prescribed.

It may be also mentioned that Gibbon, when relating in his sixteenth chapter, the banishment, imprisonment, condemnation, and execution of Cyprian (the same Cyprian as is often mentioned in our history of the third century), terminates his account with, "It is remarkable that, of so great a number of bishops in the province of Africa, Cyprian was the first who was esteemed worthy of martyrdom." In addition to its comment on the commencing date of the "treading under foot," a circumstance is related in connection therewith which will not be deemed uninteresting, even by

those who may be inclined to limit its further importance, as a confirming comment on our interpretation of a literal year for a prophetic day. Gibbon says, "At length, *exactly one year* after Cyprian was first apprehended, Galerius Maximus, proconsul of Africa, received the imperial warrant for the execution of the Christian teachers." In a note we find, "When Cyprian, a twelvemonth before, was sent into exile, he dreamt that he should be put to death the next day. The event made it necessary to explain that word, as signifying a year."

Cyprian is also quoted by Dr. Eck in the sixteenth century, as one of his authorities in his celebrated discussion with Luther on the primacy of the pope. (D'Aubigné, book v., ch. 5.)

Neither must we conclude our record of the remarkable relation of cause and effect which history has so conclusively established between the latter half of the third century and the former half of the sixteenth, without adding their increased affinity by identity of misfortune; for whilst at p. 238 in this lecture we have Mosheim saying in the third century, "And, besides the sufferings which the Christians had to undergo in consequence of the cruel edicts issued against them, they were also involved in the public calamities that prevailed at this time, and suffered grievously from a terrible pestilence which spread desolation through many provinces of the empire;" so D'Aubigné, in the sixteenth century, records several occasions on which Diets and Councils were postponed, broken up, or the place of their being held, changed, in consequence of the fearful plague which at that time raged in Germany. In book ii, ch. 9, he says, "About this time the plague broke out in Wittemberg, and a great part of the students left the town. Luther remained. 'I don't well know,' wrote he to his friend at Erfurt, 'if the plague will allow me to finish the epistle to the Galatians. Prompt and brisk, it makes great ravages, especially among the young. You advise me to flee. Whither shall I flee? I hope the world will not go to wreck, though friar Martin fall. If the plague makes progress I will disperse the friars in all directions, but for myself I am stationed here,

and obedience permits me not to flee, till he who has called me recalls me. Not that I do not fear death (for I am not the apostle Paul, I am only his commentator), but I hope the Lord will deliver me from fear.' Such was the firmness of the doctor of Wittenberg. Will he, whom the plague could not force to recoil one step, recoil before Rome? Will he yield to the power of the scaffold?"

We may now pass to the illustration of the several characteristics attached to the witnesses declared to be "the two candlesticks and olive trees standing before the God of the earth." These, we have seen, are represented in history by the fused Pagan and Roman churches and their priesthood. As our history is not yet progressive, the illustration needed must continue to be found in the history already before us.

The first characteristic is thus expressed, "And if any man will hurt them fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies," the historic fulfilment of which, whilst apparent throughout our history, is conspicuous in the following extracts from lecture xii. Thus, at p. 74 we have, "Tezel, wishing to repair the check he had received, had recourse to the *ultima ratio* of Rome and the inquisitors. I mean the faggot."

Again, at p. 77, the bishop of Brandenburgh says, "'I will not lay down my head in peace, till I have thrown Martin into the fire, as I do this brand,' throwing one into the grate."

Again, at p. 88, Staupitz, writing to Spalatin, says, "'I know that the plague of Babylon—I had almost said of Rome—breaks forth against all who attack the abuses of those traffickers in Jesus Christ. I have myself seen a preacher of the truth thrown headlong from the pulpit; I have seen him, though on a festival, bound and dragged to a dungeon. Others have seen still greater cruelties.'"

Again, at p. 129, "'The time is come,' said Luther, 'when men will think they do Jesus Christ service by putting us to death.' The murderous language of the priests did not fail in its effect. About the same time Serra-Longa wrote to the Elector, 'Let not Luther find an asylum in the states of your highness, but, repulsed by all, let him be stoned to death in the face of heaven. This would please me more than

a gift of ten thousand crowns.' But the sound of the gathering storm was heard, especially in the direction of Rome."

Again at p. 150, "The bull began to be executed. *The voice of the pontiff of Christendom was not an empty sound. Long had fire and sword taught subjection to it.* Faggot piles were prepared at his bidding, and everything indicated that a dreadful catastrophe was to put an end to the audacious revolt of the Augustine monk."

Again at p. 150, "These flames, it was said at Rome, will carry terror into every quarter."

Again at p. 159, "The nuncio defended his faggot piles. 'These flames,' said he, 'are a sentence of condemnation written in gigantic letters, and understood alike by those who are near and those who are at a distance, by the learned and the ignorant, by those even who cannot read.' "

Again at p. 174, "'Every day,' wrote the Elector to his brother John, 'deliberations are held against Luther; the demand is that he be put under the ban of the pope and the emperor; *in all sorts of ways attempts are made to hurt him.* Those who parade about with their red hats, the Romans with all their sect, labour in the task with indefatigable zeal.' In fact Aleander urged the condemnation of the Reformer with a violence which Luther calls 'marvellous fury.' "

The characteristics of the visible professing Christian church, being found, in this respect, to accord well with the prophetic terms, the next requirement from history is imposed by "These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy, and have power over waters to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues, as often as they will." In illustration and fulfilment of these terms, the following is presented to us by our history. Still extracting from lecture xii., we have at p. 86, pope Leo thus charging the legate De Vio, "'If he persists in his obstinacy, and you cannot make yourself master of his person, we give you power to proscribe him in all parts of Germany, to banish, curse, and excommunicate all who are attached to him, and to order all Christians to shun their presence. And in order that this contagion may be the more easily extirpated, you will excommunicate all

prelates, religious orders, communities, counts, dukes, and grandees (except the emperor Maximilian), who shall refuse to seize the said Martin Luther, and his adherents, and send them to you under due and sufficient guard. And if (which God forbid) the said princes, communities, universities, grandees, or anyone belonging to them, offer an asylum to the said Martin, or any of his adherents, in any way, and give him, publicly or in secret, by themselves or others, aid and counsel, we lay under interdict these princes, communities, and grandees, with their towns, burghs, fields, and villages, whither the said Martin may flee, as long as he shall remain there, and for three days after he shall have left. In regard to the laity, if they do not obey your orders instantly, and without any opposition, we declare them infamous (with the exception of the most worthy emperor), incapable of performing any lawful act, deprived of Christian burial, and stript of all fiefs which they may hold, whether of the apostolic see, or of any other superior whatsoever.’”

Again at p. 143, “‘The moment this bull is published,’ continues the pope, ‘it will be the duty of the bishops to make careful search for the writings of Martin Luther, and to burn them publicly and solemnly in the presence of clergy and laity. In regard to Martin himself, good God, what have we not done? Imitating the goodness of the Almighty, we are ready even yet to receive him into the bosom of the church, and we give him sixty days to transmit his retractation. Meanwhile, and from this moment, he must cease to preach, teach, or write, and must deliver his works to the flames. If in the space of sixty days he do not retract, we, by these presents, condemn him and his adherents as public and absolute heretics.’ The pope afterwards pronounces a multiplicity of excommunications, maledictions, and interdicts against Luther and all his adherents, with injunctions to seize their persons and send them to Rome. It is easy to conjecture what the fate of these noble professors of the gospel would have been in the dungeons of the papacy.”

Again at p. 172, “The Reformer and all his partisans, whatever their rank and power, were anathematised, and deprived personally, as well as in their descendants, of all

their dignities and effects. Every faithful Christian, as he loved his soul's salvation, was ordered to shun the sight of the accursed crew. Wherever heresy had been introduced, the priests were, on Sundays and festivals, at the hour when the churches were best filled, solemnly to publish the excommunication. They were to carry away the vessels and ornaments of the altar, and lay the cross upon the ground; twelve priests, with torches in their hands, were to kindle them and dash them down with violence; and extinguish them by *trampling them under their feet*; then the bishop was to publish the condemnation of the impious men; all the bells were to be rung; the bishops and priests were to pronounce anathemas and maledictions, and preach forcibly against Luther and his adherents."

Again at p. 175, "The apostate nuncio, as Luther calls him, hurried by passion beyond the bounds of prudence, one day exclaimed, 'If you mean, O Germans, to shake off the yoke of Roman obedience, we will act so, that setting the one against the other, as an exterminating sword, you will all perish in your own blood.' (They have power over waters to turn them to blood). 'Such,' adds the Reformer, 'is the pope's method of feeding the sheep of Christ.' "

Again at p. 181, "The avenues to the church in which the sovereign pontiff was to officiate were occupied at an early hour by the papal guards, and by a crowd of people who had flocked from all parts of Italy to receive the benediction from the holy father." Having the power to bless, its opposite to curse is also here implied. "The square in front of the Basilisk was decorated with branches of laurel and myrtle; wax tapers were burning on the balcony of the church, and the ostensorium was raised upon it. All at once bells make the air re-echo with solemn sounds; the pope, clothed in his pontifical robes, and carried in a chair, appears on the balcony; the people kneel, all heads are uncovered, the colours are lowered, the muskets grounded, and a solemn silence reigns. Some moments after, the pope slowly stretches out his hands, raises them towards heaven, then bends them slowly towards the ground, making the sign of the cross. The movement is repeated

thrice, and the air echoes anew with the ringing of bells, which intimate the pope's benediction to the surrounding country; then priests advance with impetuosity, holding lighted torches, which they reverse, brandish, and throw about with violence to represent the flames of hell; the people are moved and agitated, and the words of *malediction* are heard from the height of the temple. The pontiff having finished his anathemas, the parchment on which they were written was torn to pieces, and the fragments thrown to the people. Immediately there was a great rush among the crowd, all pressing forward, and striving to get hold of a morsel of the terrible bull. Such were the holy relics which the papacy offered to her faithful on the eve of the great day of grace of expiation."

Thus has history exhibited the visible church, in this respect also, exactly answering to the prophetic terms. Before passing on, however, to the next subject, an interesting and confirmatory comment on this, and the prophecy generally, is supplied by D'Aubigné in book vii., ch. 5. He says, referring to the above-mentioned excommunication, "When Luther was informed of this excommunication, he published the tenor of it, with some remarks written in that caustic style in which he so much excelled. Although this publication did not appear till afterwards, we will here give some idea of it. Let us hear the high priest of Christendom on the balcony of his Basilisk, and the monk of Wittemberg answering him from the bosom of Germany. There is something characteristic in the contrast of the two voices.

"*The pope.* 'Leo, bishop.'—*Luther.* 'Bishop . . . as a wolf is a shepherd; for the bishop ought to exhort according to the doctrine of salvation, not belch out imprecations and maledictions.'—*The pope.* ' . . . Servant of all the servants of God.'—*Luther.* 'In the evening when we are drunk; but in the morning we call ourselves Leo, lord of all the lords.'—*The pope.* 'The Roman bishops, our predecessors, have been wont, on this festival, to employ the weapons of righteousness. . . .'—*Luther.* 'Which, according to you, are excommunication and anathema, but according to St. Paul, patience, meekness, and charity.'—*The pope.* 'According

to the duty of the apostolic office, and to maintain the purity of Christian faith.'—*Luther*. 'In other words, the temporal possessions of the pope.'—*The pope*. 'And its unity, which consists in the union of the members with Christ their head . . . and with his vicar. . . .'—*Luther*. 'For Christ is not sufficient; one more than he is necessary.'—*The pope*. 'To guard the holy communion of the faithful, we follow the ancient custom, and excommunicate and anathematise on the part of God Almighty the Father.'—*Luther*. 'Of whom it is said, "God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world (John iii, 17)."'—*The pope*. ' . . . And the Son and the Holy Spirit, and according to the power of the apostles Peter and Paul . . . and our own. . . .'—*Luther*. 'And myself! says the ravenous wolf, as if the power of God were too feeble without him.'—*The pope*. 'We curse all heretics. The Garasi (Cathari), the Patarini, the Pauperes of Lyon, the Arnoldists, the Speronists, the Passagians, the Wickliffites, the Hussites, the Fraticelli.'—*Luther*. 'For they wished to possess the holy scriptures, and insisted that the pope should be sober and preach the word of God.'—*The pope*. 'And Martin Luther, recently condemned by us for a similar heresy, as well as all his adherents and all whosoever they be, that show him any favour.'—*Luther*. 'I thank thee, most gracious pontiff, for condemning me in common with all these Christians. I count it an honour to have my name proclaimed at Rome during the feast in so glorious a manner, and carried over the world with the names of all those humble confessors of Jesus Christ.'—*The pope*. 'Likewise we excommunicate and curse all pirates and corsairs. . . .'—*Luther*. 'Who, then, is the greatest of pirates and corsairs if it be not he who robs souls, chains them, and puts them to death?'—*The pope*. 'Likewise we excommunicate and curse all who falsify our bulls, and our apostolic letters. . . .'—*Luther*. 'But the letters of God, the scriptures of God, all the world may condemn and burn.'—*The pope*. 'Likewise we excommunicate and curse all who detain provisions which are on the way to Rome. . . .'—*Luther*. 'He barks and bites like a dog threatened to be deprived of his bone.'—*The pope*. 'Likewise we condemn and curse all who

keep back judicial rights, fruits, tithes, and revenues appertaining to the clergy.'—*Luther*. 'For Jesus Christ has said, "Whosoever will sue thee at the law and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also" (Matt. v. 40), and this is our commentary upon the passage.'—*The pope*. 'Whatever be their station, dignity, order, power, or rank; be they even bishops or kings. . . .'—*Luther*. 'For, "there will arise false teachers among you who will despise dominion and speak evil of dignities," saith the scripture' (Jude, 8).—*The pope*. Likewise we condemn and curse all those who in any kind of way attack the city of Rome, the kingdom of Sicily, the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, the patrimony of St. Peter in Tuscany, the duchy of Spoleto, the margravate of Ancona, the Campagna, the cities of Ferrara and Benevento, or any other city or country appertaining to the church of Rome.'—*Luther*. 'O Peter, poor fisherman! where did you get Rome and all those kingdoms? I salute you, Peter, king of Sicily! . . . and fisherman of Bethsaida!'—*The pope*. 'We excommunicate and curse all chancellors, counsellors, parliaments, procurators, governors, officials, bishops, and others who oppose our letters of exhortation, invitation, prohibition, mediation, execution, etc.'—*Luther*. 'For the holy see seeks only to live in idleness, magnificence, and debauchery, to command, storm, lie, insult, and commit all sorts of wickedness in peace and safety. . . . O Lord arise! it is not as the papists pretend. Thou hast not forsaken us, nor is thy favour turned away from us.' So spake Leo X. at Rome, and Luther at Wittemberg."

Without drawing further on the resources which history still presents in illustration of our subject, through the several centuries embraced by the prophecy, it may be now observed that every Apocalyptic requirement up to the terms "And when they had finished their testimony," have been completely and circumstantially satisfied. Our records have shown us, in a much more liberal sense than the words convey, "that in the latter half of the third century the Pagan church and priests persecuted and oppressed the true church, under circumstances sufficiently exceptional or peculiar to enable the period to be con-

sistently identified as the commencement of the notified 1260 years; that they continued this oppression up to the time of their power being subverted and absorbed by the Roman church under the name of Christian; that the oppression of the true church was continued by this professing Christian Roman church and her priests until the first half of the sixteenth century, up to which time she was believed to be the true church in accordance with her name and profession, but at which time she was stripped of her assumed character, and exposed in her true character of the enemy and persecutor of the church, which she herself professed to be."

History having, therefore, freely and minutely supplied the events corresponding with the prophecy up to the point just mentioned, our next requirements are the illustrations of the terms, "And when they shall have finished their testimony, the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit, shall make war against them, and shall overcome them and kill them. And their dead bodies shall lie in the street of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified. And they of the people and kindreds and tongues and nations shall see their dead bodies three days and an half, and shall not suffer their dead bodies to be put in graves. And they that dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over them, and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another; because these two prophets tormented them that dwelt on the earth. And after three days and an half, the spirit of life from God entered into them; and they stood upon their feet, and great fear fell upon them which saw them. And they heard a great voice from heaven, saying unto them, Come up hither. And they ascended up to heaven in a cloud, and their enemies beheld them."

It will be remembered that in our review of the historical circumstances required in fulfilment of the prophecy, the following were presented as indicated by the foregoing terms, viz.: "That at or about the expiration of the 1260 years, the true church was invested with power to inflict punishment on her persecutor, the exercise of which was

manifested, conjointly with that of the Turks, or the secular power which succeeded to that of the Saracens, or both. That the secular power, separately or combined, made war on the professing church, humiliated her, subverted her authority, and deprived her of spiritual life; that she remained as dead during three years and a half, when, at the invitation and under the favour and protection of the secular power which had degraded her, she again assumed her dominant position, to the great dismay of the true church."

Before proceeding to the examination of history in support thereof, the terms "And when they had finished their testimony," call for special remark, as affording another instance of the care with which every channel of probable divergence of interpretation is guarded; for had the history of the witnesses been continued by "And the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit," etc., it will be seen, that any circumstances illustrating the prophecy, which may have occurred during the 1260 years of their testimony, might have been referred to as the fulfilment, and thus, an element of confusion, if not of obliteration, might have been introduced into the prophetic progression, hitherto found to be perfect; whereas the chronological position of the events is now accurately defined, subject only to the termination of the 1260 years being correctly ascertained.

This termination has been assigned in the records of history to the first half of the sixteenth century, by evidence which can scarcely fail to recommend itself to the approving judgment of the most severe inquirer; and to an approximation to the year 1520, by Luther's exposure of the false character of the visible professing Christian church and priesthood, and other illustrative circumstances belonging to the history of that year; we may, therefore, confidently assume that our next historical search will reveal to us the power represented by "the beast," whose presence on the scene is foretold at such termination; in which case the evidence of historic correspondence, and the ratification of our chronological position, cannot fail to be hailed otherwise than of the most perfect kind.

It must be now observed that the prophecy imposes a threefold exposition on our next illustrations ; viz., the continuation of the power of the Apocalyptic reed like unto a rod placed in the hands of the true church, and the fulfilment of the accompanying instructions ; also, the power represented by the beast ; and, the subsequent history of the visible church and priesthood represented by the Apocalyptic candlesticks and olive trees. The former is pointed out by a very interesting feature in the prophecy, which, although positive in its indication, is of so subtle a nature, that without attention being drawn to it, it may be probably overlooked, and the continued illustration of earlier prophetic terms, after the introduction of the beast, be considered to be opposed to the principles of illustration we have hitherto maintained.

It will be seen that, although the introduction of the beast follows the termination of the 1260 years, his history is carried on conversationally in the future tense, precisely as in the case of the candlesticks and olive trees ; and, therefore, as before mentioned at p. 229, that the onward progress of events, interrupted to supply explanatory information, was not yet resumed. From which it follows that the terms, “ Rise and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein ; but the court which is without the temple leave out, for it is given unto the Gentiles,” continue in force, until superseded by the announcement in the perfect tense, “ And after three days and an half the spirit of life from God *entered* into them.”

Up to that announcement in the perfect tense, therefore, the prophecy imposes contemporaneous illustrations of the above-mentioned terms and of those introducing and carrying on the history of “ the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit,” which well agrees with, and promises fully to meet our expectations previously formed and thus expressed at p. 235, “ It must be also observed, that the true church has been given ‘ a reed like unto a rod,’ which being, as we have seen in the preceding lecture, the recognised symbol of a delegated power for the punishment of offenders, we are led to expect from history to show that the

exercise of that power by the members of the true church was manifested by their taking active part in the chastisement foreshown to be inflicted on the professing church, at this period, by the secular agency, whose character has been just explained. Neither must we overlook, that it is strongly implied that the members of the true church, during the progress of these events, constituted themselves into an organised visible body, in accordance with the instruction given to John—"Rise and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein." To which, the natural expectation may be added, that effects, consequent on Luther's exposure of the false character of the professing church, and illustrative thereof, followed the termination of the 1260 years, and, therefore, form a feature in our forthcoming history.

Some illustrative effects are already apparent in the history before us. At pp. 144 and 147 we have the diminished power of the papal thunders thus noticed; "The bull was published, and for ages, the mouth of Rome had never pronounced a sentence of condemnation without following it up with a death blow." "The Ingolstadt doctor," armed with the bull, "soon had occasion to see that a year had produced a great change in Leipsic. On St. Michael's day some students posted up placards in ten different places, containing a severe attack on the new nuncio, who, in amazement, took refuge in the cloister of St. Paul. Eck, quitting his retreat at night, clandestinely escaped from Leipsic, to hide himself at Coburg. Repairing to Erfurt, he insisted on having his bull published, but the students seized the copies, tore them to pieces, and threw them into the river, saying, 'Since it is a bull, let it swim.'"

To which we may add the effects recorded at p. 167, "The Reformation which commenced with the struggles of an humble soul in the cell of a convent at Erfurt, had never ceased to advance. An obscure individual with the word of life in his hand, had stood erect in the presence of worldly grandeur, and made it tremble. This word he had opposed first to Tezel and his numerous host, and these avaricious merchants, after a momentary resistance, had taken flight.

Next, he had opposed it to the legate of Rome at Augsburg, and the legate, paralysed, had allowed his prey to escape. At a later period he had opposed it to the champions of learning in the halls of Leipsic, and the astonished theologians had seen their syllogistic weapons broken to pieces in their hands. At last he had opposed it to the pope, who, disturbed in his sleep, had risen up from his throne, and thundered at the troublesome monk; but the whole power of the head of Christendom this word had paralysed."

Again at p. 217, "Faith in the word of God had made Luther free. The numerous and powerful links which had for ages chained and bound Christendom, were broken, destroyed, and scattered in fragments around him, and he nobly raised his head free of everything save the word of God."

We must now see what history records in illustration of our several subjects, the period being the sixteenth century and subsequent to 1521, the year in which our onward investigation was suspended to follow the prophecy through the retrospective period of 1260 years.

Our first object of search will be for the appearance at this time of the Turks, the surviving representatives of Mahomet; and the power which expelled and succeeded the Saracens, who, as followers of Mahomet, had overrun a large portion of the western Roman empire; both of whom we have seen at p. 232 to be comprehended and appropriately pointed out by "The beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit."

The former, incidentally mentioned in our subsequent histories, we left in Constantinople, after having taken that city in 1453, as foreshown by the angel of the trumpet we are still considering, so that no explanation is needed of their antecedents. The latter proves to be represented by the emperor Charles V., whom we have had presiding at the Diet of Worms, and whose severe edict against Luther and his adherents, issued at the instigation of Rome, was the cause of Luther's confinement in the Wartburg. His partisanship to the Roman cause, thus exhibited, appears to throw us entirely on the Turks to fulfil the foreshown degradation to

be inflicted on the professing Christian church. As the following historic testimonies, however, point him out as the representative of the power denoted, we have no choice, whether friend or foe, but to accept him as such, and give him the consequent prominence in our illustrative records. The first testimony is that of Mezeray, who says :—

“The kingdom of Granada, after a war of eight years successively, was entirely conquered by the taking of her capital city. Boabdila, the last of their kings, having sustained a siege of eight months, surrendered it to *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, the second day of January of this year 1492. *Thus ended the Dominion of the Moors*” (the Saracens) “*in Spain*, where it had lasted near eight hundred years.”

The second testimony is that of D'Aubigné, who says in book vi. ch. 1, the date being 1520 :—“At the assembly of Frankfort, three kings aspired to the crown of the Cæsars. A youthful prince, grandson of the last emperor, born at the opening of the century, and consequently nineteen years of age, first presented himself. He was named Charles, and was born at Ghent. His paternal grandmother, Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold, had left him Flanders and the rich states of Burgundy. His mother, Joan, daughter of *Ferdinand* of Arragon and *Isabella* of Castile, and wife of Philip, son of the emperor Maximilian, had transmitted to him the united kingdoms of *Spain*, Naples, and Sicily, to which Christopher Columbus had added a new world, while the recent death of his grandfather put him in possession of the hereditary states of Austria.”

It will be seen, therefore, that the Turks or Charles V. whom we have seen to have received the imperial crown on the 22nd October, 1520, must be exhibited in our next history, as performing the acts assigned by the prophecy to either of those powers, or to both conjointly.

With the three first already present, we have only to add the Turks to complete the prophetic assemblage of—The visible professing Christian church—The Reformers—Charles V.—and, The Turks. History does not detain the latter very long, for Mezeray says, the date being 1522 :—“Whilst the Christian princes were thus engaged in their mutual

destruction, Solyman, the Turkish Sultan, who succeeded his father, Selim II., two years since, was now lodged upon the ramparts of Christendom. For the preceding year, 1521, he took Belgrade, in Hungary, and this year he wrested Rhodes out of the hands of the knights of St. John. It was believed pope Adrian might have saved it, if, upon his arrival in Italy, he would have sent thither the fifteen hundred foot he brought along with him, instead of ordering them to march, as he did, into Milan. It were difficult to name a siege more famous than this same, either for the dreadful numbers of the besiegers, for the brave resistance of the besieged, or the many and furious assaults. The Turkish army consisted of two hundred thousand men, of whom above fifty thousand were slain, and as many perished by sickness. The fifth month of the siege the knights, having no gunpowder left, no pioneers nor labourers, hardly any men for defence, some lying by of their wounds, or of sickness, others dropping down with over-working and toiling; they accepted of the capitulation offered them by Solyman, which was to go forth with bag and baggage and all their galleys and vessels that were in port. He made his entrance on Christmas-day. The pope gave those knights, who three months after arrived at Rome, his city of Viterbo for their retreat, in honour of their generous defence."

D'Aubigné also thus mentions this Turkish invasion:—"Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, had commenced a cruel persecution of the partisans of the Reformation in his hereditary states of Austria. But for the deliverance of reviving Christianity, God repeatedly employed the same instrument which he had used in destroying corrupted Christianity. The crescent appeared in the terrified provinces of Hungary. On the 9th of August, after a siege of six weeks, Belgrade, the bulwark of that kingdom and of the empire, yielded to the assaults of Solyman. The *followers of Mahomet*, after their evacuation of Spain, seemed desirous to re-enter Europe by the East. The Diet of Nuremberg forgot the monk of Worms to think only of the Luther of Constantinople. But Charles V. kept both adversaries in his view. Writing the pope from Valladolid on the 31st of

October, he said, 'It is necessary to arrest the Turks and punish the partisans of the poisonous doctrines of Luther with the sword.' "

Thus are the Turks seen to have taken their place in the history of this period. The several characters denoted in the prophecy being now all before us, the respective parts they played in illustration of the Apocalyptic drama claims our next attention. Resuming our investigation from 1521, and our extracts from D'Aubigné, those parts are thus exhibited:—

"Germany was moved by the captivity of Luther. The most contradictory reports circulated throughout her provinces. The dead body of Luther was affirmed to have been seen pierced with wounds. 'Ah,' said the multitude, 'no more shall we see, no more shall we hear the noble-minded man whose voice stirred our hearts.' The friends of Luther, muttering wrath, swore to avenge the truth. The general exclamation was, 'Luther's death will cause torrents of blood to flow.' Suddenly intelligence the most gratifying was received. 'Our dearly beloved father lives,' exclaimed Melancthon, in the joy of his heart, 'take courage and be strong.' But grief soon resumed the ascendancy. Luther was alive, but in prison. The edict of Worms, with its cruel proscriptions, had been circulated by thousands throughout the empire, and even in the mountains of the Tyrol. But above the hand of man a more powerful hand was at work, God himself deprived the edict of its force. The German princes, who had always sought to humble the power of Rome in the empire, trembled on seeing the alliance of the emperor with the pope, and feared lest it should result in the destruction of all their liberties. Accordingly, though Charles, on his passage through the Low Countries, smiled ironically as he saluted the flames, which some flatterers and fanatics were kindling in the public places with the writings of Luther, these writings were read in Germany with constantly increasing avidity, and every day new pamphlets appeared to support the Reformation, and make new assaults on the papacy. The nuncios were disconcerted out of measure on seeing that the edict, which had cost them so

much injustice, produced so little effect. 'The ink of the emperor's signature,' said some, with bitterness, 'was scarcely dry, before the decree itself was everywhere torn to pieces.'"

The effect of the power delegated by the prophetic reed like unto a rod, is here very apparent. We need not follow the historian through his account of Luther's captivity in the Wartburg, but the following extracts of circumstances which occurred during that captivity, illustrative of the effects, resulting from Luther's exposure of the prevailing errors of the period, as before mentioned, must not be omitted.

"While the doctor of Wittemberg was dead to the world, the work was advancing of itself; the Reformation had commenced. No longer confining itself to doctrine, it energetically advanced into act. Bernard Feldkirchen, pastor of Kemberg, who, under the direction of Luther, had first attacked the errors of Rome, was also the first to throw off the yoke of her institutions. He married. 'Neither popes nor councils,' said Feldkirchen and another pastor, named Seidler, who followed his example, 'can impose on the church an ordinance which endangers soul and body. The obligation to maintain the law of God constrains us to violate the traditions of men.'

"The re-establishment of marriage in the sixteenth century was an act of homage to the moral law. The ecclesiastical authority, taking alarm," in accordance with its characteristics, "immediately launched its decrees against the two priests. Seidler, who was in the territories of duke George, was given up to his superiors, and died in prison. But the Elector Frederick refused to give up Feldkirchen to the archbishop of Magdeburg. 'His highness,' said Spalatin, 'has no wish to act as a police officer.' Feldkirchen, therefore, though he had become a husband and a father, continued pastor of his flock.

"The first emotion of the Reformer on learning these things was to give expression to his joy. 'I admire this new husband of Kemberg, who fears nothing and hastens into the midst of the tumult.' But this question led to another, the marriage of monks. Melancthon and Carlstadt,

the one a layman and the other a priest, thought that the liberty of entering into the bonds of marriage ought to belong to monks as well as to priests. Luther, a monk, did not think so at first. The idea astonished and confounded him, his mind was troubled. The liberty which he claimed for others, he rejected for himself. ‘Ah,’ exclaimed he, with indignation, ‘at all events they will not force me to take a wife.’ This saying is doubtless unknown to those who pretend that Luther effected the Reformation in order that he might be able to marry. Seeking the truth honestly, not through passion, he defended whatever presented itself to him as true, though it might be contrary to his system as a whole. He moved in a mixture of truth and error, waiting the time when all error would fall, and truth alone remain.

“There was, in fact, a great difference between the two questions. The marriage of the priests did not put an end to the priesthood; but the marriage of monks was the destruction of monachism. The question then was to determine whether it was necessary to break up and disband the mighty army, which the popes held under their command. ‘The priests,’ wrote Luther to Melancthon, ‘are appointed of God, and consequently are free in regard to human commandments. But the monks have voluntarily chosen celibacy, and therefore are not free to withdraw themselves from the yoke of their own choice.’

“The Reformer behoved to advance and carry this new position of the adversary by means of a new struggle. He had already *put under his feet* many abuses of Rome, and Rome itself, but monachism was still standing. Monachism, which of old carried life into so many deserts” (see history of the third century, respecting the rise of monachism in the church), “and which, after traversing many centuries, now filled so many cloisters with indolence, and often with luxury, seemed to have personified itself and come to defend its rights in the castle of Thuringia, where was to be decided in the conscience of a single man the question of its life or its death. Luther wrestled with it. Sometimes he was on the point of overcoming it, and sometimes he was on the point of being overcome. At length, unable any longer to sustain the

combat, he prostrated himself in prayer at the feet of Jesus Christ, and exclaimed, 'Instruct us! deliver us! In thy mercy establish us in the liberty which belongs to us, for certainly we are thy people.'

"He had not to wait for deliverance; an important revolution was produced in the Reformer's mind, and it was again the doctrine of justification by faith that gave him the victory. This weapon, before which had fallen, in the mind of Luther and of Christendom, indulgences, the discipline of Rome, and the pope himself, also effected the downfall of the monks. Luther saw that monachism and the doctrine of salvation by grace were in flagrant opposition, and that monastic life was founded entirely on the pretended merits of man. Thenceforth, convinced that the glory of Jesus Christ was at stake, he heard a voice within incessantly repeating, 'monachism must fall.' 'So long,' said he, 'as the doctrine of justification continues in the church unimpaired, no man will become a monk.' This conviction always acquired more strength in his heart, and in the beginning of September he sent 'to the bishops and deacons of the Church of Wittenberg' the following theses, which formed his declaration of war against monastic life. 'Whatsoever is not of faith is sin.—Whosoever makes a vow of virginity, chastity, or service to God, without faith, makes an impious and idolatrous vow, and makes it to the devil himself.—To make such vows is to be worse than the priests of Cybele, or the vestals of the heathen; for the monks pronounce their vows in the idea that they are to be faithful and saved by them; and what ought to be ascribed solely to the mercy of God, is thus attributed to the merit of works.—Such convents should be completely overturned as houses of the devil.—There is only one order which is holy and produces holiness, and that is Christianity or faith.—Convents, to be useful, should be schools in which children might be trained to man's estate, whereas they are houses in which full-grown men again become children, and so continue ever after.' Writing to his father, he says, 'I am a monk, and yet not a monk; I am a new creature, not of the pope, but of Jesus Christ. Christ alone, and without any intermediate person,

is my bishop, my abbot, my prior, my lord, my father, and I know no other. What matters it to me though the pope should condemn and butcher me? He will not be able to bring me forth from the tomb to do it a second time. *The great day is approaching when the kingdom of abominations will be overthrown.* Would to God we were worthy of being butchered by the pope. Our blood would cry to heaven against him, and thus his judgment would be hastened, and his end brought near.' Luther had at first been arrayed on the side of monachism; but truth also had entered the lists, and monachism had been vanquished. Luther was no longer a monk.

"Luther's residence in the Wartburg began to be insupportable; he must see his friends again—hear them and speak to them. True, he runs the risk of falling into the hands of his enemies, but nothing can stop him. Towards the end of November, he secretly quits the Wartburg, and sets out for Wittenberg. On the way different reports reached him, that a spirit of impatience and independence was manifesting itself among his adherents, and he was grieved to the heart. At length he arrived at Wittenberg without having been recognised, and stopped at the house of Amsdorff. Forthwith all his friends were secretly summoned, Melancthon especially, who had often said, 'If I must be deprived of him, I prefer death.' On their arrival, what a meeting! what joy! The captive of the Wartburg, seated amidst them, enjoys all the sweets of Christian friendship. He learns the progress of the Reformation, and the hopes of his brethren; and overjoyed at what he sees and hears, prays, give thanks, and then, after a short delay, returns to the Wartburg.

"Luther's joy was well founded—the Reformation was then advancing at an immense pace. Feldkirchen, always in the advanced guard, had first mounted to the assault. The main body was now shaken, and the power which carried the Reformation from doctrine, which it had purified, into worship, into common life, and the constitution of the church, now manifested itself by a new explosion still more formidable to the papacy than the former had been.

"Rome, disencumbered of the Reformer, thought she had

done with heresy. But in a short time all was changed. Death precipitated the man who had laid Luther under interdict from the pontifical throne. Disturbances arising in Spain, obliged Charles V. to repair beyond the Pyrenees. War broke out between this prince and Francis I., and, as if this had not been enough to occupy the emperor, *Solyman advanced into Hungary*. Charles, attacked on all sides, saw himself constrained to forget the monk at Worms, and his religious innovations.

“About the same time the vessel of the Reformation, which, driven in all directions by contrary winds, had well nigh foundered, righted, and floated firmly on the waves. It was in the Augustin convent of Wittemberg that the Reformation broke out. We must not be surprised at this; the Reformer was no longer there, *but no power could banish the spirit which had animated him*.

“For some time the church in which Luther so often preached had resounded with strange doctrines. Gabriel Zwilling, the preacher of the convent, a monk full of zeal, preached with ardour in favour of the Reformation. As if Luther, whose name was everywhere proclaimed, had become too powerful and too illustrious, God selected feeble and obscure individuals to commence the Reformation which Luther had prepared. ‘Jesus Christ,’ said the preacher, ‘instituted the sacrament of the altar as a memorial of his death, not to make it an object of adoration. To adore it is real idolatry. The priest who communicates alone commits a sin. No prior is entitled to compel a monk to say mass alone. Let one, two, or three officiate, and let all the others receive the sacrament in both kinds.’

“Such was the demand of friar Gabriel, and these bold words were listened to with approbation by the other friars, especially by those who came from the Low Countries. Being disciples of the gospel, why should they not in everything conform to its commands? Had not Luther himself, in the month of August, written to Melancthon, ‘never more from this time will I say a private mass.’ Thus the monks, those soldiers of the hierarchy, set free by the word of God, boldly took part against Rome.

“At Wittemberg they experienced an obstinate resistance on the part of the prior. Recollecting that all things ought to be done in order, they yielded, still declaring that to maintain the mass was to oppose the gospel of God. A rumour of the dissensions of the monks was soon noised in the town. The citizens and students of the university took part either for or against the mass. The electoral court was alarmed. Frederick, in astonishment, sent his chancellor, Pontanus, to Wittemberg with orders to tame the monks, by putting them if necessary on bread and water; and on the 12th October, a deputation of professors, of whom Melancthon was one, repaired to the convent to exhort the monks not to make any innovation, or at least to wait. On this all their zeal revived; unanimous in their belief, except the prior who combated them, they appealed to the holy scriptures, to the intelligence of the faithful, and consciences of theologians, and two days after returned a written declaration.

“The teachers now examined the question more closely, and perceived that truth was on the side of the monks. They went to convince, but were themselves convinced. On the 20th October, the university gave in their report to the Elector. ‘Let your electoral highness,’ said they to him, after exposing the errors of the mass, ‘Let your electoral highness abolish all abuses, lest Christ on the day of judgment upbraid us, as he once did at Capernaum.’

“It is no longer some obscure monks who speak, but that university which all sober men have hailed for years as the national school. The very means employed to stifle the Reformation are going to contribute to its extension. Melancthon published fifty-five propositions with a view to enlighten the public mind. ‘Just,’ says he, ‘as to look at a crucifix is not to do a good work, but simply to contemplate a sign which reminds us of the death of Christ. As to look at the sun is not to do a good work, but simply to contemplate a sign which reminds us of Christ and his gospel. So to partake of the table of the Lord is not to do a good work, but simply to make use of a sign which reminds us of the grace given us by Christ. But herein is the difference.

The symbols invented by men simply recall what they signify, whereas the signs given by God not only recall the things, but also make the heart sure of the will of God. As the sight of the cross does not justify, so the mass does not justify. As the sight of a cross is not a sacrifice for our own sins or for those of others, so the mass is not a sacrifice. There is only one sacrifice, only one satisfaction—Jesus Christ. Out of him there is none. Let the bishops who do not oppose the impiety of the mass be anathema.’ Thus spake the pious and gentle Philip. The Elector was in consternation, and used all his efforts to arrest it. His authority, the weight of his character, the arguments which appeared to him most decisive—everything was put in requisition. He sent a message to the theologians. ‘Don’t be in a haste ; you are too few in number to carry out such a Reformation. If it is founded on the holy gospel, others will perceive it, and the whole church will concur with you in abolishing these abuses. Speak, debate, preach on these subjects as you please ; but preserve ancient customs.’

“ Such was the struggle which took place on the subject of the mass. The monks had gone courageously to the assault ; the theologians, for a moment undecided, had soon supported them. The prince and his ministers alone defended the place. It has been said that the Reformation was effected by the power and authority of the Elector ; but, so far from this, the assailants were obliged to retire at the venerated voice of Frederick, and the mass was saved for some days.

“ Moreover, the hottest of the assault had been already directed to another point. Friar Gabriel continued his fervid harangues in the church of the Augustins. It was against monachism itself that he now directed those redoubled blows. If the mass constituted the strength of the Romish doctrine, monachism constituted the strength of the hierarchy. These, therefore, were the two first positions which required to be carried. ‘Break open, destroy, throw down the monasteries,’ exclaimed Gabriel, ‘so that not a vestige of them may remain, and on the site which they have so long occupied, let it be impossible to find any

one of the stones which served to shelter so much idleness and superstition.' The monks were astonished; their conscience told them that what Gabriel said was only too true—that the life of a monk was not conformable to the will of God, and that none was enabled to dispose of them but themselves.

"Thirteen of the Augustins left the convent at once, and, laying aside the dress of their order, assumed common clothes. Those of them who had some education attended the lectures in the university, that they might one day become useful to the church, and those whose minds were little cultivated, sought to gain their living by working with their own hands, according to the injunction of the apostle, and the example of the worthy burghers of Wittemberg. One of them, who was acquainted with the trade of carpenter, entered with the corporation, and resolved to marry. If Luther's entrance into the convent of the Augustins of Erfurt was the first germ of the Reformation, the departure of these thirteen monks from the convent of the Augustins of Wittemberg was a sign that it was beginning to take possession of Christendom. The marriage of Feldkirchen had been the first defeat of the hierarchy—the emancipation of these thirteen Augustins was the second. *Monachism which had been formed the moment the church commenced her period of bondage and error,*" in the third century, "*behoved to fall the moment she recovered liberty and truth,*" in the sixteenth century.

"Still it was found necessary carefully to examine the lawfulness of monastic vows. A chapter, consisting of the Augustins of Thuringia and Misnia, met at Wittemberg in the month of December. Their views coincided with Luther's. They declared on the one hand that monastic vows were not sinful, but, on the other, that they were not obligatory. 'In Christ,' said they, 'there is neither laic nor monk; everyone is free to quit the monastery or to remain in it. Let him who departs, not abuse his liberty—let him who remains, obey his superiors and that from love.' Then they abolished mendicancy and masses said for money; they also decreed that the most learned among them should apply

themselves to the teaching of the word of God, and that the others should support their brethren by the work of their hands. The question of vows thus seemed determined, but that of the mass remained undecided.

“The Elector continued to oppose the torrent, and protected an institution which was still standing in every part of Christendom. The orders of an indulgent prince were unable, however, long to restrain men’s minds. The brain of Carlstadt especially, fermented amid the general fermentation. So long as Luther was at his side, the superiority of the master kept the scholar within due bounds. But Carlstadt was now at liberty, and was heard at the university and the church, especially in Wittemberg, giving eager expression to ideas which, though sometimes profound, were often enthusiastic and extravagant. ‘What folly,’ exclaimed he, ‘to think that the Reformation should be left to the agency of God alone! A new order of things begins. The hand of man must interpose. Woe to him who stays behind, and will not mount the breach in the cause of the mighty God.’

“The words of the archdeacon communicated to others the impatience which animated himself. Following his example, individuals who were sincere and straightforward, exclaimed, ‘All that the popes have ordained is impious. Let us not become accomplices in these abominations by allowing them to subsist. What is condemned by the word of God must be abolished in Christendom, whatever be the ordinances of men. If the heads of the state and church will not do their duty, let us do ours. Let us renounce negotiations, conferences, theses, and debates, and have recourse to the true remedy for all these evils. There must be a second Elijah to destroy the altars of Baal.’

“The re-establishment of the last supper at this moment of fermentation and enthusiasm, doubtless could not exhibit the solemnity and sacredness of its institution by the Son of God the evening before his death, and almost at the foot of his cross. But if God now made use of feeble, and perhaps passionate, men, it was still his hand which re-established the feast of his love in the bosom of his church.

“As early as the month of October, Carlstadt, with twelve of his friends, had secretly celebrated the Lord’s supper, agreeably to its original institution. The Sunday before Christmas he intimated from the pulpit that, on the feast of the circumcision, being New-year’s-day, he would dispense the supper under the two kinds of bread and wine to all who should present themselves at the altar, that he would omit all useless ceremonies” (introduced in the third century, it will be remembered), “and in celebrating this mass would not put on either cope or chasuble.

“The council, in alarm, requested counsellor Beyer to prevent so great an irregularity. On this, Carlstadt resolved not to wait for the time he had appointed. On Christmas, 1521, he preaches in the parish church, on the necessity of abandoning the mass, and receiving the sacrament under the two kinds. After sermon he descends to the altar, pronounces the words of consecration in German, then, turning to the people, who were all attention, he says, in a solemn tone, ‘Whosoever feels the burden of his sins, and is hungering and thirsting for divine grace, let him come and receive the body and blood of the Lord.’ Afterwards, without raising the host, he distributes the bread and wine to all, saying, ‘This is the cup of my blood, the blood of the new and everlasting covenant.’ Different sentiments pervaded the audience. Some feeling that new grace from God was given to the church, came to the altar under deep emotion and in silence. Others, attracted particularly by the novelty, approached with agitation and a certain degree of impatience. Only five communicants presented themselves at the confessional. The others simply took part in the public confession of sins. Carlstadt gave general absolution to all, enjoining no other penitence than this, ‘Sin no more.’ At the close they sang the hymn, *Lamb of God*.

“No opposition was made to Carlstadt: these reforms had already obtained the public consent. The archdeacon dispensed the supper again on New-year’s-day; then on the following Sunday, and thereafter, the ordinance was regularly observed. One of the Elector’s counsellors, having upbraided Carlstadt with seeking his own glory rather than

the salvation of his hearers, 'Mighty sir,' replied he, 'there is no death that can make me abandon Scripture. The word has come to me so readily. Woe to me if I preach not.' Carlstadt married soon after.

"In the month of January the town-council of Wittemberg and the university regulated the celebration of the supper in accordance with the new form. At the same time, the means were taken into consideration of restoring the moral influence of religion; for the Reformation behoved to re-establish simultaneously faith, worship, and manners. It was decreed that mendicants, whether lay or not, should no longer be tolerated, and that in each street a pious man should be charged to take care of the poor, and cite scandalous offenders before the university or the council.

"Thus fell the mass, the principal bulwark of Rome; thus the Reformation passed from doctrine to worship;" and thus are visible the first consequences of the instruction, "Rise and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein." The historian continues:—

"Three ages before, the mass and transubstantiation had been definitively established, and thereafter everything in the church had taken a new direction—the general tendency being to give glory to man and reverence to the priest. The holy sacrament had been worshipped; feasts had been instituted in honour of the greatest miracles; the adoration of Mary had obtained an important place; the priest, who, in his consecration, received the strange power of 'making the body of Christ,' had been separated from the laity, and had become, according to Thomas Aquinas, a mediator between God and man; celibacy had been proclaimed as an inviolable law; auricular confession had been imposed on the people, and the cup taken from them; for how could humble laity be placed on the same level with priests entrusted with the most august ministry? The mass was an insult to the Son of God; it was opposed to the perfect grace of his cross and the spotless glory of his eternal kingdom. But if it degraded our Lord, it exalted the priest, whom it invested with the extraordinary power of repro-

ducing in his hands, at will, his Sovereign Creator. The church appeared henceforth to exist, not in order to preach the gospel, but simply to reproduce Christ corporeally in the midst of her. The pontiff of Rome, whose most humble servants at pleasure created the body of God himself, sat as God in the temple of God, and ascribed to himself a spiritual treasure out of which he drew unlimited indulgences for the pardon of sins.

“Such were the gross errors which, together with the mass, had for three centuries been imposed on the church. The Reformation, in abolishing this human institution, abolished all these abuses. The act of the archdeacon of Wittenberg was therefore one of high consequence. The sumptuous festivals, which amused the people, the worship of Mary, the pride of the priesthood, the power of the pope, all tottered with the mass. *Glory was withdrawn from the priests and restored to Jesus Christ.* The Reformation thus took an immense step in advance.

“Still men under the influence of prejudice might have been unable to see in the work which was being accomplished more than the effect of vain enthusiasm. Facts themselves behoved to prove to the contrary, and demonstrate that there is a wide space between a reformation founded on the word of God, and a giddy fanaticism. When a great religious fermentation takes place in the church, some impure elements always mingle with the manifestation of the truth. One or more false reforms proceeding from man rise to the surface, and serve as a testimony or countersign to true reform. Thus, in the days of Christ, several false Messiahs attested that the true Messiah had appeared. The Reformation of the sixteenth century could not be accomplished without exhibiting a similar phenomenon. The place where it appeared was the little town of Zwickau.

“There were some men who, excited by the great events which then agitated Christendom, aspired to direct revelations from the Deity, instead of simply seeking sanctification of heart, and who pretended they had a call to complete the Reformation, which had been feebly sketched by Luther. ‘What use is there,’ said they, ‘in attaching oneself so

strictly to the Bible? The Bible—always the Bible! Can the Bible speak to us? Is it not sufficient to instruct us? Had God designed to teach us by a book, would he not have sent a Bible from Heaven? It is by the Spirit only that we can be illumined. God himself speaks to us; God himself reveals to us what we ought to do, and what we ought to say.'

“ Thus, like the partisans of Rome, these fanatics attacked the fundamental principle on which the whole Reformation rests—the sufficiency of the word of God. A simple weaver, Nicholas Storck, announced that the angel Gabriel had appeared to him during the night, and after having communicated to him things which he could not yet reveal, had said to him, ‘Thou, thou shalt sit upon my throne.’ He was joined by Mark Stubner, Mark Thomas, and Thomas Munzer. The latter gave a regular organisation to this new sect. Storck, wishing to follow the example of Christ, chose among his adherents twelve apostles and seventy-two disciples. All of these openly announced that apostles and prophets are at length restored to the church of God. Shortly after, the new prophets, pretending to walk in the footsteps of those of ancient times, delivered their message.” This message has been already quoted in the preceding lecture at p. 220.

“ These discourses made a strong impression on the people. Some pious souls were moved at the idea that prophets were restored to the church, and all who loved the marvellous threw themselves into the arms of the eccentric men of Zwickau. But scarcely had this old heresy, which had formerly existed in the times of Montanism, and in the middle ages,” and which had its elementary seeds visible in *the mystics* of the third century, “ again found followers, than it encountered a powerful opponent in the Reformation. Nicolas Haussman, to whom Luther bore this fine testimony, ‘What we teach, he practises,’ was pastor of Zwickau. This good man did not allow himself to be led away by the pretensions of the false prophets. He laid an arrest on the innovations which Storck and his adherents wished to introduce, and in this his two deacons concurred with him. The

fanatics, repulsed by the ministers of the church, plunged into another excess. They formed assemblies, in which revolutionary doctrines were professed. The people were excited and disturbances broke out; a priest who was carrying the holy sacrament, was assailed with volleys of stones. The civil authority interposed, and threw the most violent into prison. Indignant at this proceeding, and impatient to justify themselves and state their complaint, Storck, Mark Thomas, and Stubner repaired to Wittemberg. Thinking themselves sure of their support, they immediately repaired to the professors of the university, in order to obtain a testimony in their favour. 'We,' said they, 'are sent by God to instruct the people. We hold familiar converse with the Lord; we know things to come—in a word, we are apostles and prophets, and we appeal for the fact to Dr. Luther.' This strange language astonished the professors. 'Who ordained you to preach?' asked Melancthon of Stubner. 'Our Lord God.' 'Have you written any books?' 'Our Lord God has forbidden me.' Melancthon is moved, astonished, and alarmed. 'There are extraordinary spirits in these men,' said he, 'but what kind of spirits? Luther alone can decide. On the one hand, let us beware of extinguishing the spirit of God, and on the other, of being seduced by the spirit of the devil.' Storck, who was of a restless temper, soon quitted Wittemberg; Stubner remained. Animated with an ardent spirit of proselytism, he went up and down the town, speaking sometimes to one, and sometimes to another. Several acknowledged him as a prophet of God. Melancthon became the more uncertain and perplexed. The visions of the new prophets did not disturb him so much as their new doctrine on baptism. It seemed to him to be agreeable to reason, and he considered it a subject worthy of examination; 'for,' said he, 'it is not right either to admit or reject anything lightly.' Such is the spirit of the Reformation. The Elector was also hesitating. Prophets and apostles in the electorate of Saxony, as formerly at Jerusalem! 'This is an important affair,' said he, 'and as a layman, I cannot comprehend it. But sooner than act against God, I will take my staff in my hand, and quit my throne.'

“At last he desired his counsellors to say to the professors that they had enough of trouble on their hands at Wittemberg, that in all probability the pretensions of the men at Zwickau were only a delusion of the devil, and that the wisest course seemed to be to let the whole affair go off; that nevertheless, in every case where his Electoral Highness saw the will of God clearly, he would not take counsel either of brother or mother, but would be ready to suffer everything for the cause of truth.

“Luther in the Wartburg was apprised of the agitation which prevailed at the court, and at Wittemberg. Strange men had appeared, and it was difficult to say from whence their message came. He instantly perceived that God had permitted these sad events to humble his servants, and urge them by trials to make greater endeavours after sanctification. ‘Your Electoral Highness,’ wrote he to Frederick, ‘for many years made search for relics in all countries. God has listened to your desires, and sent you *a cross* quite entire, with nails, spears and scourges. Grace and prosperity to the new relic! Only let your Highness extend your arms without fear, and allow the nails to sink into your flesh! I always expected that Satan would send us this sore plague.’ But at the same time, nothing appeared to him more urgent than to secure others in the liberty which he claimed for himself. He had not two weights and two measures. ‘Beware,’ wrote he to Spalatin, ‘of throwing them into prison; let not the prince imbrue his hands in the blood of these new prophets! Luther was far before his age, and even before several other reformers, on the subject of religious liberty.

“Circumstances continued to become more serious at Wittemberg. Carlstadt rejected several of the doctrines of the new prophets, and in particular their anabaptism; but there is in religious enthusiasm something contagious, from which a head like his could not easily defend itself. No sooner had the men of Zwickau arrived at Wittemberg, than Carlstadt quickened his pace in the prosecution of violent reforms. ‘It is necessary,’ said he, ‘to make an assault on all impious customs, and overturn them in one day.’ Calling to mind all the passages of scripture against images, he

declaimed with increasing energy, against the idolatry of Rome. ‘They bow and crouch before these idols,’ exclaimed he, ‘they kindle tapers to them, and present offerings to them. Let us arise and pluck them from their altars!’

“These words did not sound in vain in the ears of the people. They entered the churches, carried off the images, broke them in pieces, and burnt them. It would have been better to wait till their abolition had been legally determined; but it was thought that the tardiness of the leaders was compromising the Reformation.

“Shortly, to hear these enthusiasts, there were no longer any true Christians in Wittenberg save those who did not confess, who assailed the priests, and ate flesh on forbidden days. Any one suspected of not rejecting all the observances of Rome as inventions of the devil, was a worshipper of Baal. ‘It is necessary,’ exclaimed they, ‘to form a church composed only of saints.’

“The citizens of Wittenberg presented certain articles to the council for their adoption. Several of those articles were conformable to evangelical morality. In particular, they asked that all places of amusement should be shut. But Carlstadt went still further; he began to despise learning. What was the use of study? Storck and Stubner had never been at the university, and yet they were prophets. In preaching the gospel, therefore, a citizen was worth as much, perhaps worth more, than all the teachers of the world.

“Thus arose doctrines in direct opposition to the Reformation, which the revival of letters had prepared. It was with the armour of theological science that Luther had attacked Rome; and yet the enthusiasts of Wittenberg, like the fanatical monks, pretended to trample all human knowledge under their feet. Should Vandalism come to be established, the hope of the world was lost. A new invasion of barbarism would quench the light which God had again kindled in Christendom. The effects of these strange harangues were soon seen. Men’s minds were prejudiced, agitated, turned aside from the gospel; the university was disorganised, and the students becoming demoralised, were dispersed—the governments of Germany recalling such as belonged to them.

Thus the men who wished to reform, and give life to everything, were proceeding in a course of destruction. 'One last effort more,' exclaimed the friends of Rome, who were everywhere resuming courage—'one last effort more, and all will be gained.'

"The only means of saving the Reformation was a prompt suppression of the excesses of the fanatics, but who could do it? The evil continued, and none appeared to arrest it. Trouble and ruin had invaded the city. The Reformation had seen an enemy arise in its bosom, more formidable than popes and emperors, and now stood on the brink of the precipice. Luther! Luther! was the universal cry at Wittemberg. The burghers urgently called for him, the professors longed for his counsels; the prophets themselves appealed to him. All implored him to return.

"The conviction that the prophets were deluded, only served to augment Luther's grief. Is it true, then, that the great doctrine of salvation by grace has so soon lost its attractions that men turn aside from it to attach themselves to fables? He begins to experience that the work is not so easy as he had at first supposed. He stumbles over this first stone which the wanderings of the human mind have placed in his path. Distressed and in anguish, he is willing, at the cost of his life, to take it out of the way of his people, and determines on returning to Wittemberg.

"Many were the dangers which then threatened him. The enemies of the Reformation were confident of destroying it. George of Saxony, whose wish was neither for Rome nor Wittemberg, had written, 16th October, 1521, to duke John, the Elector's brother, advising him to join the ranks of the enemies of reform. 'Some,' said he, 'deny the immortality of the soul. Others (and they are monks) drag the relics of St. Anthony with tinkling bells and swine, and cast them into the mire. And all this comes of Luther's doctrine. Entreat your brother the Elector either to punish the impious authors of these innovations, or publicly to declare what his intentions are. The whitening of our locks warns us that we are drawing near the last stage of life, and urges us to put an end to all these evils.'

“After this, George departed to take his seat in the imperial government established at Nuremberg, and immediately on his arrival, used every means he could to induce the adoption of severe measures. In fact, this body on the 21st January issued an edict, complaining bitterly that the priests said mass without being clothed in the sacerdotal dress, consecrated the holy sacrament in German, dispensed it without receiving the necessary confessions, placed it in the hands of laics, and did not even trouble themselves to inquire whether or not those who came forward to take it had broken their fast.

“The imperial government accordingly called upon the bishops to search out and rigorously punish all the innovators who might be found within their respective dioceses. The bishops hastened to comply with these orders. Such was the moment which Luther chose to reappear upon the scene. He saw the danger; he foresaw immense disasters. ‘In the empire,’ said he, ‘there will soon be a tumult, which will drag pell-mell, princes, magistrates, and bishops. The people have eyes; they neither will nor can be led by force. Germany will swim in blood. Let us place ourselves in the breach, and save our country in this great and terrible day of the Lord.’

“Such was Luther’s thought, but he saw a still more pressing danger. At Wittemberg, the fire, far from being extinguished, was becoming more violent every day. In vain do his enemies prepare to strike the last blow; in vain does the Elector implore him to continue in the Wartburg, and prepare his defence for the next Diet. He has something more important to do, he has to defend the gospel itself. ‘More serious news reach me from day to day,’ writes he, ‘I am preparing to depart; circumstances demand it.’ In fact, on the morning of the 3rd March, 1522, he rises with the determination to quit the Wartburg for ever. He bids adieu to its old towers and gloomy forests, crosses the walls where the excommunication of Leo X. and the sword of Charles V. were unable to reach him, and descends the mountain. The world which extends at his feet, and in which he is going to reappear, will perhaps raise a death-cry against him. But no matter, he advances joyfully, for it

is in the name of the Lord, that he is rejoining the society of his fellow men.

“Time had moved onward. Luther came out of the Wartburg for a different cause from that for which he had entered it.” (Mark the change of character corresponding with the angel taking his place in the temple of God, as before noticed and illustrated.) “He had entered as the assailant of ancient traditions and ancient doctors; he left it as a defender of the doctrine of the apostles against new adversaries. He had entered as an innovator and assailant of the ancient hierarchy, he came out as its preserver, and for the defence of the Christian faith. Till now, Luther had only one aim in his work, viz., the triumph of justification by faith; with this weapon he had struck down powerful superstitions. But if there had been a time to pull down, there behoved also to be a time to build up. Behind those ruins with which his arm had strewed the ground—behind those tattered letters of indulgences—those broken tiaras and torn cowls — behind all the abuses and errors of Rome, which lay in confused heaps on the field of battle, he discerned and exhibited the primitive Catholic church,” (represented in the prophecy by the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein) “reappearing always the same, and coming forth, after a long trial, with its immutable doctrines and heavenly accents. He knew how to distinguish between it and Rome; he hailed it and embraced it with joy. Luther did not, as he has been falsely accused, bring a novelty into the world. He did not build up an edifice for the future that had no connection with the past. He discovered and brought to light the old foundation, overgrown with thorns and brambles, and merely continuing the structure of the temple” (in accordance with his instruction, “Rise and measure,”) “built on the foundation which the apostles had laid. Luther understood that the ancient and primitive church of the apostles required on the one hand to be rebuilt in opposition to the papacy” (“but the court, which is without the temple, leave out and measure it not,”) “which had so long oppressed it” (“forty and two months,”) “and on the

other, to be defended against enthusiasts and unbelievers, who pretended not to see it, and who, making no account of all that God had done in times past, wished to begin a work entirely new. Luther was no longer exclusively the apostle of a single doctrine, that of justification," (no longer the impersonator of the angel with the little book in his hand,) "though he always reserved the first place for it;—he became the apostle of the whole Christian system" (in accordance with the new character assigned him), "and while believing that the church consists essentially of the whole body of the saints, he by no means despised the visible church, but recognised the assembly of all who are called, as the kingdom of God. Thus a great change now took place in Luther's soul, in his theology, and in the work of renovation which God was accomplishing in the world. The hierarchy of Rome might perhaps have urged the Reformer into an extreme : the sects which then raised their heads so boldly, helped to bring him to the proper medium. *His residence in the Wartburg divides the history of the Reformation into two periods.*

"Luther continued his journey, and on the second day arrived at Borne, a small town near Leipsic. Be it remembered, he had been put under the ban of the empire ; whosoever met him and recognised him might lay hands upon him. But at the moment when he was executing an enterprise which exposed him to every risk, he discoursed gaily with those whom he met on his way. Feeling that he ought to give notice to his prince of the bold step which he was going to take, he wrote him the following letter from the Conductor Tavern, where he had alighted :—

" ' Grace and peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ. Most serene Elector ! gracious lord ! what has happened at Wittemberg, to the great shame of the gospel, has filled me with such grief that if I were not certain of the truth of our cause I would have despaired of it. Your Highness knows, or if not, please to be informed, I received the gospel not from men, *but from heaven, by our Lord Jesus Christ.* If I have asked for conferences, it was not because I had doubts of the truth, but from humility,

and for the purpose of winning others. But since my humility is turned against the gospel, my conscience now impels me to act in a different manner. I have yielded enough to your Highness in exiling myself during this year. The devil knows it was not from fear I did it. I would have entered Worms though there had been as many devils in the town as there were tiles on the roofs. Now, duke George, with whom your Highness tries so much to frighten me, is far less to be feared than a single devil. Had that which has taken place at Wittemberg taken place at Leipsic (the duke's residence), I would instantly have mounted my horse and gone thither, even though (let your Highness pardon the expression) for nine days it should have done nothing but rain duke Georges, and every one of them been nine times more furious than he is. What is he thinking of in attacking me? Does he take Christ, my Lord, for a man of straw? The Lord be pleased to avert the dreadful judgment which is impending over him.

“ It is necessary for your Highness to know that I am on my way to Wittemberg under a more powerful protector than that of an elector. I have no thought of soliciting the assistance of your Highness; so far from desiring your protection, I would rather give you mine. If I knew that your Highness could or would protect me, I would not come to Wittemberg. No sword can give any aid to this cause. God alone must do all without human aid or co-operation. He who has most faith is the best protector. Now, I observe that your Highness is still very weak in the faith. But since your Highness desires to know what to do, I will answer with all humility. Your electoral Highness has already done too much, and ought to do nothing at all. God does not wish and cannot tolerate either your cares and labours, or mine. Let your Highness, therefore, act accordingly. In regard to what concerns myself, your Highness must act as Elector. You must allow the orders of his imperial majesty to be executed in your towns and rural districts. You must not throw any difficulty in the way, should it be wished to apprehend or slay me; for none must oppose the powers that be, save He who established them. Let your

Highness then leave the gates open, and respect safe-conducts, should my enemies themselves, or their envoys, enter the states of your Highness in search of me. In this way you will avoid all embarrassment and danger. I have written this letter in haste that you may not be disconcerted on learning my arrival. He with whom I have to deal is a different person from duke George. He knows me well, and I know something of him.

‘Borne, the Conductor Hotel, Ash Wednesday, 1522.

‘Your Electoral Highness’s most humble servant,

MARTIN LUTHER.’

“Thus Luther was drawing near to Wittemberg. He wrote to the prince, but not to apologise. Never perhaps was the heroism of faith more conspicuously displayed. One of the editions of Luther’s works has on the margin these words, ‘This is a marvellous production of the third and last Elias.’

“On Friday, the 7th March, Luther again entered Wittemberg. Professors, students, citizens, all gave full utterance to their joy. They had recovered the pilot who alone could bring off the ship from the shallows on which it had been cast.

“The Elector, who was with his court at Lockau, was much affected on reading Luther’s letter. He felt desirous to defend him before the Diet, and wrote to Schurff, ‘Let him send me a letter, explaining his motives for returning to Wittemberg, and let him say also in it that he returned without my permission.’ Luther agreed to do so.

“One great thought occupied the Reformer, and made him forget the joy he felt at being again in the midst of his friends. No doubt the theatre on which he now appeared was obscure ; it was in a small town of Saxony that he was going to raise his voice, and yet his undertaking had all the importance of an event which was to influence the destinies of the world. Many nations and many ages were to feel its effects. The point to be determined was, whether this doctrine which he had drawn from the word of God, and which was destined to exert so powerful an influence on the future progress of humanity, would be stronger than the

principles of destruction which threatened its existence; whether it was possible to reform without destroying, and to pave the way for further progress without destroying that already made. To silence fanatics in the first heat of enthusiasm, to master a whole multitude broken loose, to calm them down and bring them back to order, peace, and truth; to break the force of this impetuous torrent which was threatening to throw down the rising edifice of the Reformation, and scatter its wrecks around;—such was the work for which Luther had returned to Wittenberg.

“The Reformer shuddered at the thought of the combat which awaited him. He stood up like a lion goaded on to battle. ‘Now is the time,’ said he ‘to trample Satan under foot, and combat the angel of darkness. If our adversaries retire not of their own accord, Christ will constrain them. We are the masters of life and death, we who believe in the Master of life and death. It is by the word that we must fight, by the word overturn and destroy what has been established by violence. I am unwilling to employ force against the superstitious or the unbelieving. Let him who believes, approach; let him who believes not, stand aloof. None ought to be constrained. Liberty is of the essence of faith.’

“The next day was Sabbath, and on that day, in the church, in the pulpit, the people were again to behold the teacher, whom for nearly a year, the Wartburg had concealed from every eye. The news spread in Wittenberg—Luther is returned—Luther is going to preach. These news passing from mouth to mouth were in themselves a diversion to the notions by which the people had been led astray. The hero of Worms is going again to appear. Crowds press forward from all directions, and on Sabbath morning the church was filled with an attentive and excited audience. Luther divines the feeling of his hearers; he mounts the pulpit and there stands in the presence of the flock whom he was wont to lead like one gentle sheep, but who had now broken loose, and assumed the appearance of an untamed bull. His discourse is simple, yet dignified, replete at once with force and mildness. He might have

been described as a tender parent just returned to his children, inquiring how they have behaved, and telling them kindly of what he had heard respecting them. He candidly acknowledges the progress they had made in the faith. Having thus prepared and gained their minds, he impresses on them the necessity of adding charity to their faith, and then comes to closer quarters. ‘The abolition of the mass, you say, is conformable to scripture. Agreed. But what order, what decorum have you observed? You ought to have presented fervent prayers to the Lord; you ought to have applied to constituted authority, which in that case, might have been able to perceive that the work was of God.’

“Thus spake Luther. The bold man who had at Worms withstood the princes of the earth, produced a powerful impression by these words of wisdom and peace. Carlstadt and the prophets of Zwickau, who for some weeks had been so high and mighty, and who had agitated and lorded it over Wittemberg, became dwarfs when placed beside the prisoner of the Wartburg.

“‘The mass,’ he continues ‘is a bad thing. God is inimical to it; it must be abolished, and I could wish that over the whole world it were supplanted by the power of the gospel. But let nobody be driven from it by violence. The affair must be committed to God. His word must act, not we. And why? you will say. Because I do not hold the hearts of men in my hand as the potter does the clay. We have a right to speak, but not to act. Let us preach, the rest belongs to God. If I employ force, what shall I obtain? Grimace, appearances, apishness, human ordinances, hypocrisy. But there will be no sincerity of heart, no faith, no charity. Any work in which these three things are wanting, wants everything, and I would not give a pin for it. The first thing to be gained from people is their heart, and for this it is necessary to preach the gospel. Then the word will descend on one heart to-day, and on another to-morrow, and operate in such a way that each will withdraw from the mass, and abandon it. God does more by his mere word, than either you or I or all the world could do by uniting

our utmost strength. God takes possession of the heart, and when the heart is taken, everything is taken. I do not say this in order to re-establish the mass. Since it is down, let it in God's name so remain. But was the matter gone about as it ought to have been? Paul, having one day arrived at Athens, a great city, found altars erected to false gods. He went from one to another, viewed them all, and touched none. But he quietly repaired to the market place, and declared to the people that all their gods were only idols. His words took possession of their hearts, and the idols fell without being touched by Paul. I wish to speak, to preach, to write, but I wish not to constrain anyone, for faith is a voluntary matter. I have withstood the pope, indulgences, and the papacy, but without tumult and violence. I have put forward the word of God—have preached, have written, but this is all that I have done. And while I was asleep, or seated in a friendly way with Amsdorff and Melancthon, the word which I had preached overthrew the papacy, assailing it more effectually than was ever done by prince or emperor. I have done nothing. The word alone has done all. Had I chosen to appeal to force, Germany might have been bathed in blood. But what would have been the consequence? Ruin and desolation to soul and body. I therefore remained quiet and allowed the word itself to have free course in the world. Do you know what the devil thinks when he sees recourse had to force in order to spread the gospel among men? Seated, with his arms across, behind the flames of hell, Satan, with malignant leer and frightful smile, says, "Ah, how sagely these fools are playing my game." But when he sees the word running and wrestling alone on the field of battle, then it is he feels uneasy, and his knees tremble; he mutters and swoons with terror.'

"Luther again appeared in the pulpit on Tuesday; his powerful eloquence again resounded in the midst of a deeply-impressed audience. He preached successively on Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Sabbath. He passed in review the destruction of images, the distinction of meats, the observances at the supper, the restoration of the cup,

and the abolition of confession. He showed that those points were still more indifferent than the mass, and that the authors of the disorders, which had taken place at Wittemberg, had grossly abused their liberty. He gave utterance alternately to accents of Christian charity and to bursts of holy indignation. In particular, he inveighed forcibly against those who communicated thoughtlessly at the Lord's supper. 'What makes the Christian,' said he, 'is not the external eating, but the internal and spiritual eating which is produced by faith, and without which all forms are only show and vain grimace. Now, this faith consists in firmly believing that Jesus Christ is the Son of God; that being laden with our sins and iniquities, and having borne them upon the cross, he is himself the sole, the all-powerful expiation; that he is now continually in the presence of God, that he reconciles us with the Father, and has given us the sacrament of his body in order to confirm our faith in this ineffable mercy. If I believe these things, God is my defender; with Him I defy sin, death, hell, devils—they cannot do me any harm, nor even ruffle a hair of my head. This spiritual bread is the consolation of the afflicted, the cure of the sick, the life of the dying, the food of the hungry, and the treasure of the poor. He, then, who is not sorry for his sins, ought not to come to this altar; what would he do there? Ah! let our consciences accuse us, let our hearts be torn at the thought of our faults, and we will not approach the holy sacrament with so much rashness.'

"Crowds ceased not to fill the temple: numbers even flocked from the neighbouring towns to hear the new Elias. Capito, among others, came and spent two days at Wittemberg, and heard two of the doctor's sermons. Never had Luther and the chaplain of cardinal Albert been so much of one mind. Melancthon, the magistrates, the professors, and all the people were overjoyed. Schurff, delighted at this issue of an affair which promised to be so serious, hastened to acquaint the Elector, to whom he wrote, Friday, 15th March. 'What joy the return of doctor Martin diffuses among us! His discourses, by the help of divine grace, are daily bringing back our poor erring souls into the way of

truth. It is as clear as the sun, that the spirit of God is in him, and that by his special appointment he has returned to Wittemberg.'

"In fact, these discourses are models of popular eloquence. The task which the orator of Wittemberg had to perform was difficult. It is easier to rouse a wild beast than to calm its fury. In his eight discourses the Reformer did not allow a single painful allusion to escape, a single word calculated to offend the authors of the disturbances. But the more moderate, the stronger he was; the greater the delicacy towards those who had gone astray, the more he avenged insulted truth. Luther appeared before the people of Wittemberg braving the excommunication of the pope and the proscription of the emperor. He was confronting the most threatening dangers, and, accordingly, his voice was not disregarded. This man, who braved the scaffold, was entitled to exhort others to submission. He may boldly preach obedience to God, who, in doing so, exposes himself to every kind of persecution from man. At Luther's preaching, objections vanished, tumult was appeased, sedition ceased its clamour, and the citizens of Wittemberg returned to their quiet homes.

"The principal prophets happened not to be at Wittemberg when Luther arrived. The old schoolmaster, Cellarius, had been left alone. Meanwhile, Stubner, having been informed that the sheep of his flock were dispersed, returned in all haste. Those, who had remained faithful to the 'heavenly prophecy,' gathered round their master, relating Luther's discourses to him, and asking with uneasiness what they were to think. Stubner exhorted them to remain firm in their faith. 'Let him show himself,' exclaimed Cellarius, 'let him grant us a conference, let him allow us to explain our doctrine, and we shall see.' Luther had little inclination to meet with these men; he knew that there was in them a violent, impatient, haughty spirit, which could not endure warnings, however charitably given, and who claimed submission to their every word as a sovereign authority. Such are the enthusiasts of all times. Still, as an interview was asked, the doctor could not refuse

it. The conference took place. Stubner spoke first, and explained how he proposed to renew the church and change the world. Luther listened with great calmness. 'Nothing that you have said,' replied he, 'rests on the holy Scripture. It is all fable.' At these words, Cellarius loses all self-possession; he raises his voice, gesticulates like a madman; stamps and strikes the table that was before him; gets into a passion, and exclaims that it is an insult to presume to speak thus to a man of God. Then Luther resumes, 'St. Paul declares that the proofs of his apostleship were manifested by miracles; prove yours by miracles.' 'We shall,' replied the prophets. 'The God whom I worship,' replied Luther, 'will keep a bridle hand on your gods.' Stubner, who had remained more calm, fixing his eyes on the Reformer, said to him, with an air of inspiration, 'Martin Luther, I am going to declare to you what is now passing in your soul. You are beginning to think that my doctrine is true.' Luther, after a few moment's silence, replied, 'The Lord rebuke thee, Satan.' At these words all the prophets are transported. 'The Spirit, The Spirit,' they exclaim. Luther, with that cool disdain, and that cutting yet familiar language, which was one of his characteristics, says, 'I care not a fig for your *spirit*.' The clamour is redoubled. Cellarius was especially violent. He raged, roared, and foamed. Not a word more could be heard. At length the prophets withdrew, and the same day quitted Wittenberg.

"Thus Luther had accomplished the work for which he had left his retreat. He had withstood fanaticism, and chased from the bosom of the renovated church the enthusiasm and disorder which were trying to invade it," and which successfully invaded it, as we have seen, in the third century. "If, on the one hand, the Reformation overthrew the musty decretals of Rome, with the other it repelled the pretensions of *the mystics*, and secured the living and immutable word of God, in possession of the territory it had conquered. The character of the Reformation was thus well established. It behoved constantly to move between these two extremes, equally distant from the convulsive throes of fanatics, and the lifeless state of the papacy.

“ A population aroused, misled, and broken loose from all restraint, is appeased, becomes calm and submissive, and the most perfect tranquillity is restored to a city which, a few days before, was like a raging sea. Complete liberty was moreover established at Wittenberg. Luther continued to reside in the convent and to wear the monastic dress ; but every one was free to do otherwise. Communicants, in taking the supper, might content themselves with a general, or ask a particular absolution. One established principle was to reject nothing but what was opposed to a clear and formal declaration of the holy Scriptures. This was not indifference. On the contrary, religion was thus brought back to what constitutes its essence. Religious sentiment was drawn away from accessory forms when it had been well nigh lost, and again placed on its true basis. Thus the Reformation was saved, and doctrine could continue to be developed in the church in accordance with charity and truth.

“ No sooner was the calm re-established than the Reformer turned towards Melancthon, and asks his assistance in putting his finishing hand to the version of the New Testament, which he had brought from the Wartburg. He gladly responded to Luther's invitation, and thereafter the two friends spent many long hours together in studying and translating the Divine word. Often did they interrupt their laborious researches to give vent to their admiration. The printing of the New Testament was begun and carried on with unexampled zeal. It seemed as if the workmen themselves felt the importance of the work which they were preparing. Three presses were employed, and ten thousand sheets were printed daily. At length, on the 21st September appeared ” (the reed like unto a rod) “ the complete edition of three thousand copies, in two volumes, folio, with this simple title : *The New Testament, German, Wittenberg*. It bore no human name. Every German could thenceforth procure the word of God for a moderate sum. The new translation, written in the very spirit of the sacred books, in a language still recent, and displaying its many beauties for the first time, seized, enraptured, and deeply impressed

the humblest of the people, as well as the most elevated classes. It was a national work; it was the people's book; it was more, it was truly the book of God. Even enemies could not withhold their approbation of this admirable work, while some indiscreet friends of the Reformation, struck with the beauty of the work, imagined that they beheld in it a second inspiration. This translation, did more to propagate Christian piety than all the other writings of Luther. The work of the sixteenth century was thus placed on a basis which could not be shaken. *The Bible given to the people brought back the human mind, which for ages had been wandering in the tortuous labyrinth of scholastics, to the Divine source of salvation.* Accordingly the success of the work was prodigious. In a short time all the copies were disposed of. A second edition appeared in December, and in 1533, seventeen editions of Luther's New Testament had been printed at Wittemberg; thirteen at Augsburg; twelve at Bâle; one at Erfurth; one at Grimma; one at Leipsic; thirteen at Strasburg. Such were the mighty engines which lifted and transformed the church and the world."

On this subject Dr. Mosheim remarks, "To these prudent admonitions" (his discourses just quoted) "the excellent Reformer added the influence of example, by applying himself with redoubled industry and zeal to his German translation of the holy scriptures, which he carried on with expedition and success, with the assistance of some learned and pious men whom he consulted in this great and important undertaking. The event abundantly showed the wisdom of Luther's advice. For the different parts of this translation, being successively and gradually spread abroad among the people, produced sudden and almost incredible effects, and extirpated, root and branch, the erroneous principles and superstitious doctrines of the church of Rome from the minds of a prodigious number of persons."

Returning to D'Aubigné, he says, in continuation, "The first edition of the New Testament was still at press when Luther engaged in the translation of the Old Testament. This work, begun in 1522, was prosecuted without interruption. It was published in parts, as it was finished, in order

more rapidly to satisfy the impatience which was manifested in all quarters, and make it more easy for the poor to purchase it.

“From scripture and faith, two sources, which in substance are only one, evangelical life flowed, and is still diffused in the world. These two principles combated two fundamental errors; faith was opposed to the Pelagian tendency of Catholicism; scripture, to the tradition and authority of Rome. Scripture led to faith, and faith led back to scripture. ‘Man cannot do any meritorious work; the free grace of God, which he receives by faith in Christ, alone saves him.’ Such was the doctrine proclaimed in Christendom; and the tendency of this doctrine was to urge Christians to the study of scripture. In fact, if faith in Christ is everything in Christianity, what we ought to adhere to is not the word of the church, but the word of Jesus Christ. The tie which unites to Christ will become all in all to the believer. What cares he for the external tie which unites him to an external church enslaved to human opinions? Thus, as the doctrine of the Bible had urged Luther’s contemporaries towards Jesus Christ, so the love which they had for Jesus Christ in its turn urged them towards the Bible. They returned to scripture, not as is imagined in our day, from a philosophical principle, from a feeling of doubt, or a longing for investigation, but because they found in it the word of him they loved. ‘You have preached Christ to us,’ said they to the Reformer, ‘enable us now to hear his own voice.’ (“And I said unto the angel, give me the little book.”) And they eagerly laid hold of the sheets which were delivered them as they would a letter come from heaven.” (“And I took the little book out of the angel’s hand.”)

The wonderful success of “the reed like unto a rod,” recorded above, suggests at once the expectation that, in opposition thereto, we shall soon be called upon by the historian to witness a manifestation of the characteristics attached in the prophecy to “the candlesticks and olive trees.” He does not disappoint us, for he immediately continues, “But if the Bible was thus joyfully received by those

who loved Christ, it was repulsed with hatred by those who preferred the traditions and practices of men. *Violent persecution* awaited this work of the Reformer. On hearing of Luther's publication, Rome trembled. The pen which transcribed the sacred oracles was the realisation of that which the Elector Frederick had seen in his dream, and which, reaching as far as the seven hills, had caused the tiara of the pope to totter. The monk in his cell and the prince on his throne sent forth a cry of rage. Ignorant priests shuddered at the thought that every citizen, every peasant, even, would now be in a condition to debate with them on sacred subjects. The king of England denounced the work to the Elector Frederick, and duke George of Saxony. But previous to this, as early as November, the duke had enjoined all his subjects to deliver every copy of Luther's New Testament into the hands of the magistrates. Bavaria, Brandenburg, Austria, all the states devoted to Rome, issued similar decrees. In some towns, a sacrilegious pile was erected, and the books were burnt in the market-place. Thus, *in the sixteenth century, Rome renewed the attempts by which PAGANISM had tried to destroy the religion of Jesus Christ at the moment when the empire was escaping from priests and their idols.* But who can arrest the triumphant progress of the gospel? 'Even since my prohibition,' wrote duke George, 'several thousand copies have been sold and read in my states.'

The extraordinary illustration of the prophecy, apparent in the foregoing historical connection of Rome with Paganism, and the sixteenth with the third centuries, in addition to the sacrilegious pile in obedience to "fire proceedeth out of their mouth," will be observed and accepted as giving much additional strength and elegant proportion to our structure, and be hailed with some satisfaction, arising from the architecture in this part of our building being opposed to the time-honoured plans of the architectural order, and having, it is believed, to bear the test imposed by originality of design.

"D'Aubigné continues:—"God, in diffusing his word, made use of the very hands which were endeavouring to destroy it. The Catholic theologians, seeing it impossible to

suppress the Reformer's work" (the term of "their treading the holy city under foot" having terminated), "published the New Testament in a translation of their own. It was Luther's translation, with occasional corrections by the Editors. No objection was made to the reading of it. Rome knew not as yet that wherever the word of God is established, her power is in danger." (She had not yet experienced the full effect of the "reed like unto a rod.") "Joachim of Brandenburg gave full permission to his subjects to read any translation of the Bible, Latin or German, provided it came not from Wittemberg. The inhabitants of Germany thus made a rapid advance in the knowledge of the truth.

"The publication of the New Testament constitutes an important epoch in the Reformation. If the marriage of Feldkirchen was the first step in passing from doctrine to practice, if the abolition of monastic vows was the second, if the establishment of the Lord's Supper was the third, the publication of the New Testament was perhaps the most important of all. It effected a complete change in society—not only in the presbytery of the priest, the cell of the monk, and the service of the church, but also in the mansions of the great, and the dwellings both of the citizens in towns, and of the rural population. When the Bible began to be read in the households of Christendom, Christendom was changed. There were thenceforth new customs, new manners, new conversations, a new life. With the publication of the New Testament, the Reformation came forth from the school and the church, and took possession of the firesides of the people. *The effect produced was immense.* The Christianity of the primitive church, brought forth by the publication of the Holy Scriptures" ("the reed like unto a rod") "from the oblivion into which it had fallen for ages, was thus presented to the eyes of the nation, and this fact is sufficient to justify the attacks which had been made upon Rome" by Luther, in accordance with the prophetic instruction "but the court which is without the temple, leave out, for it is given unto the Gentiles, and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months."

"The humblest individuals, provided they knew the Ger-

man alphabet, women and mechanics (this is the account given by a contemporary, a great enemy of the Reformation), read the New Testament with avidity. Carrying it about with them, they soon knew it by heart, while its pages gave full demonstration of *the perfect accordance between the Reformation of Luther and the Revelation of God.*"

It must be observed that the historian does not here allude to the particular revelation, the correspondence of which with history we are now engaged in tracing, but the revelation of the New Testament generally. The peculiar adaptability of the expression to our subject almost necessitates the idea of design on the part of the historian, and that, anticipating the future approach of Apocalyptic builders to his pages, he had placed it as a key-stone for their use and encouragement.

D'Aubigné continues, "Still it was only by piecemeal that the doctrine of the Bible and of the Reformation had till then been established. Some one truth had been established in this writing, and some one error attacked in that. The remains of the ancient edifice and the materials of the new lay scattered in confusion over a large space of ground; but the new edifice itself was still wanting. The publication of the New Testament was fitted to supply this want. The Reformation, on receiving this work could say,—There is my system! But as every person is ready to maintain that the system he holds is that of the Bible, the Reformation behoved to give a systematic form to what she had found in scripture;" and, in accordance with the Apocalyptic instruction, "Rise and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein," "this Melancthon did in her name.

"Melancthon had advanced with cautious but sure steps in his theological career, and had always boldly published the results of his inquiries. So early as 1520, he had declared that in several of the seven sacraments he saw only an imitation of Jewish ceremonies; and, in the infallibility of the pope, only an arrogant pretence, equally at variance with scripture and common sense. 'To combat these dogmas,' said he, 'we have need of more than one Hercules.'

“Thus Melancthon had arrived at the same point with Luther, though by a calmer and more scientific path. The moment had arrived when it behoved him, in his turn, to make a confession of his faith.

“In 1521, during Luther’s captivity, his celebrated work *On the Common Places of Theology* had presented Christian Europe with a body of doctrine solidly based and admirably proportioned. A simple and majestic system was exhibited to the astonished view of the new generation. The translation of the New Testament vindicated the Reformation to the common people; the *Common Places* of Melancthon vindicated it to the learned. The Christian church was fifteen centuries old, and no similar work had yet appeared. Abandoning the ordinary methods of scholastic theology, Luther’s friend at length presented Christendom with a theological system derived solely from scripture, and exhibiting a spirit of life and intellect, a force of truth and simplicity of expression, in striking contrast with the subtle and pedantic systems of the schools. The most philosophical minds and the strictest theologians agreed in admiring it. Erasmus described the work as a host set in admirable array against the pharisaical tyranny of false teachers. But none was so much overjoyed as Luther.”

D’Aubigné thus concludes his notice of the *Common Places*. “But the object which Melancthon had especially in view was to present theology as a system of godliness. The schoolmen had frittered doctrine away until they deprived it of life. The Reformer’s task, therefore, was to bring it back to life. ‘To know Christ,’ said he, ‘is to know his benefits. Paul, in his epistle to the Romans, when wishing to give a summary of Christian doctrine, does not philosophise on the mystery of the Trinity, on the mode of the incarnation, on creation, action, and passion, etc. Of what then does he speak? Of the law—of sin—of grace. On these the knowledge of Christ depends.’

“The publication of Melancthon’s system of doctrine was of inestimable service to the cause of the gospel. Calumny was refuted and prejudice subdued. In churches, courts, and universities Melancthon was admired for his genius, and

loved for the beauties of his character. Even those who did not know the author were won to his creed by his work. Several had been repulsed by the harshness and occasional violence of Luther's language; but here was a man who, with great elegance of style, exquisite taste, admirable clearness, and the most exact method, expounded the powerful truths which had suddenly burst forth and shaken the world. The work was in general request, was read with avidity, and studied with ardour. So much nobleness and force subdued them; while the upper classes of society, till then undecided, were gained by a wisdom which expressed itself in such beautiful language.

“On the other hand, the enemies of the truth, whom *Luther's formidable blows had not struck down*, remained for some time mute and disconcerted after the appearance of Melancthon's treatise.” (The power and lustre of the spirit of the “candlesticks and olive trees” begin to fade.) “It told them that there was another man as worthy of their hatred as Luther. ‘Alas!’ they exclaimed, ‘unhappy Germany! to what extremities must this new birth reduce you.’ From 1521 to 1595, seventy-seven editions of the *Common Places* appeared, without counting translations. After the Bible, it is perhaps the book which contributed most powerfully to the establishment of evangelical doctrine.

“While Melancthon was by his mild accents giving such effectual aid to Luther, men in power, hostile to the Reformer, were turning with violence against him. Escaped from the Wartburg, he had again appeared on the stage of the world, and at the news his old enemies resumed all their rage.

“Luther had been three months and a half at Wittemberg, when rumour, with all its exaggerations, brought him the news that one of the greatest kings in Christendom had risen up against him. Henry VIII., the powerful king of England, who aspired to re-establish the ancient influence of the crown on the continent, and especially in France, had just composed a book against the poor monk of Wittemberg. In a letter to Lange, 26th June, 1522, Luther writes, ‘A great boast is made of a little book by the king of England.’

“As soon as Henry VIII. heard of Luther, his wrath was

kindled against him; and scarcely was the decree of the Diet of Worms known in England, when he ordered the papal bull to be executed against the Reformer's books. On the 12th May, 1521, Thomas Wolsey, who, to the office of chancellor of England, united those of cardinal and Roman legate, repaired to St. Paul's in solemn procession. This man, whose pride knew no bounds, thought himself the equal of kings. His chair was of gold, his bed of gold, and a cloth of gold covered the table at which he dined. On this occasion he displayed great pomp. The haughty prelate walked, surrounded by his household, consisting of eight hundred individuals, among whom were barons, knights, and cadets of the most distinguished families, who hoped by serving him to obtain public appointments. Gold and silk were not only conspicuous in his dress (he was the first ecclesiastic who had ventured to clothe so sumptuously), but also on the trappings and harness of his horses. Before him a priest, of a stately figure, carried *a rod*, surmounted by a crucifix; behind him another, no less stately, carried the archiepiscopal cross of York; a nobleman, walking at his side, carried the cardinal's hat. He was attended by nobles, prelates, ambassadors of the pope and the emperor, and these were followed by a long train of mules, carrying trunks with the richest and most splendid coverings. At London, amidst this magnificent procession, the writings of the poor monk of Wittemberg were carried to the flames. On arriving at the cathedral, the proud priest made even his cardinal's hat be placed upon the altar. The virtuous bishop of Rochester took his station at the foot of the cross, and thence, in an animated tone, inveighed against heresy. The impious writings of the heresiarch were then brought forward and devoutly burned in presence of an immense crowd. Such was the first news which England received of the Reformation.

“ Henry did not stop here. In a letter to the Elector Palatine, this prince thus expressed himself, ‘It is the devil, who, by Luther as his organ, has kindled this immense conflagration. If Luther will not be converted, let the flames consume him and his writings.’” Fire proceedeth out of

his mouth, but, “ Even this was not enough. Henry, convinced that the progress of heresy was owing to the ignorance of the German princes, thought that the moment was come for displaying all his learning. The conquests of his battle-axe allowed him not to doubt of the conquest reserved for his pen. But another passion still—vanity—spurred on the king. He felt humbled at having no title to oppose those of ‘ Catholic’ and ‘ Most Christian,’ borne by the kings of Spain and France, and he was long a suppliant at the Romish court for a similar distinction. What better fitted to procure such a title than an attack upon heresy? Henry, therefore, threw aside the royal purple, and descended from his lofty throne, into the arena of theologians. He made a compilation from Thomas Aquinas, Peter Lombard, Alexander Hales, and Bonaventure, and the world beheld the publication of the *Defence of the Seven Sacraments against Martin Luther, by the most invincible king of England, France, and Ireland, Henry, eighth of the name*. ‘ I will throw myself before the church,’ said the king of England, in this writing, ‘ I will receive in my breast the poisoned darts of the enemy who is assailing her. To this the present state of affairs calls me. Every servant of Jesus Christ, whatever be his age, rank, or sex, must bestir himself against the common enemy of Christendom. Let us arm ourselves with double armour — with heavenly weapons, that by the arms of truth we may vanquish him who combats with the arms of error. But let us also arm ourselves with terrestrial armour, in order that, if he proves obstinate in his wickedness, the hand of the executioner may constrain him to silence ; and he may thus, for once at least, be useful to the world by his exemplary punishment.’ Henry VIII. could not conceal the contempt which he felt for his able opponent. ‘ This man,’ said the crowned theologian, ‘ seems as if he were in labour : he makes incredible efforts, but only brings forth wind. Pluck off the dress of arrogant expression in which his absurdities are clothed, just as an ape is clothed in purple, and what will remain? Miserable, empty sophistry.’ The king defends in succession, the mass, penance, confirmation, orders, and

extreme unction. He spares no insulting epithets, calling his opponent, by turns, an infernal wolf, a venomous viper, a limb of the devil. Even Luther's honesty is assailed. Henry VIII. crushes the mendicant monk with his royal anger, and, in the words of a historian, 'writes as 'twere with his sceptre.'

"Still, however, it must be admitted, the work was not bad for the author and his age. The style is not without vigour. A burst of applause received the theological treatise of the powerful king of England. 'The most learned work that ever the sun saw,' exclaimed some. 'It deserves,' rejoined others, 'to be compared with the works of St. Augustine. He is a Constantine, a Charlemagne.' 'He is more,' exclaimed a third party, 'he is a second Solomon.'

"These exclamations were soon heard beyond the limits of England. Henry desired the dean of Windsor, John Clarke, his ambassador to the pope, to deliver his book to the sovereign pontiff. Leo X. received the ambassador in full consistory. Clarke, in presenting the royal work, said, 'The king, my master, assures you that, after refuting the errors of Luther with his pen, he is ready to combat his adherents with the sword.' Leo X., deeply gratified with this promise, replied that the book of the king of England could only have been composed with the aid of the Holy Spirit, and named Henry, '*Defender of the Faith*,' a title which the kings of England still bear. The reception given to the king's work at Rome contributed greatly to its circulation. In a few months several thousands of copies issued from different presses. 'The whole Christian world,' says Cochleus, 'was filled with admiration and joy.' These extravagant praises increased the vanity of the chief of the Tudors. He was brought to fancy he had written with some degree of inspiration. Afterwards he would not submit to the least contradiction. To him the papacy was no longer at Rome but at Greenwich, and infallibility rested on his own head. At a later period this contributed greatly to the Reformation of England.

"Luther read Henry's book with mingled disdain, impatience, and indignation. The thought that the pope had

crowned the writing, and that the enemies of the gospel were everywhere trampling on the Reformation and the Reformer, as already overthrown and vanquished, increased his indignation. Besides, what occasion had he for delicacy? Was he not fighting for a king greater than all the kings of the earth? Evangelical mildness seemed to him out of season: eye for eye, tooth for tooth. He kept no measure. The Elector, Spalatin, Melancthon, and Bugenhagen tried in vain to appease him. They would have prevented him from replying, but he was not to be stopped. ‘I will not deal mildly with the king of England;’ said he, ‘it is in vain (I know it is) to humble myself, to yield, beseech, and try the ways of peace. I will at length show myself more terrible than the ferocious beasts who are constantly butting me with their horns. I will let them feel mine; I will preach and irritate Satan until he wears himself out, and falls down exhausted. If this heretic retracts not—says the new Thomas, Henry VIII.—he must be burnt. Such are the weapons now employed against me: first the fury of stupid asses and Thomastical swine, and then the fire. Very well! Let these swine come forward, if they dare, and burn me! Here I am, waiting for them. My wish is, that my ashes, thrown after my death into a thousand seas, may arise, pursue, and engulph this abominable crew. Living, I will be the enemy of the papacy: burnt, I will be its destruction! Go, swine of St. Thomas, do what seemeth to you good. You shall ever find Luther as a bear in your way, and a lion in your path. He will thunder upon you from all quarters, and will leave you no peace until he has brayed your brains of iron, and ground to powder your foreheads of brass.’

“At the outset, Luther upbraids Henry VIII. with having based his doctrines only on the decrees and sentences of men. ‘For me,’ says he, ‘I cease not to cry, the Gospel! the Gospel!—Christ! Christ! while my opponents cease not to reply—Customs! Customs!—Ordinances! Ordinances!—Fathers! Fathers!—“*Let your faith,*” says St. Paul, “*stand not in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God.*” And the apostle, by this thunderbolt from heaven, overthrows and scatters, like the dust before the wind, all the silly crotchets

of this Henry. In confusion and consternation the Thomists, the papists, and the Henrys fall to the ground, before the thunder of these words.'

"He afterwards refutes the king's production in detail, overthrowing his arguments, one by one, with clearness, ability, and a thorough knowledge of the Holy Scriptures and the history of the church, but also with a confidence, disdain, and occasionally a violence at which we must not be surprised. On arriving at the conclusion, Luther again expresses indignation at his opponent for drawing arguments only from the fathers: this was the essence of the whole controversy. 'To all the sayings of fathers, men, angels, and devils,' said he, 'I oppose not the antiquity of custom, not the multitude, but the word of the Eternal Majesty, the Gospel, which they themselves are constrained to approve. By it I hold; on it I rest; in it I glory, triumph, and exult over papists, Thomists, Henrys, and all the hellish stye. The King of Heaven is with me, and therefore I fear nothing, even should a thousand Augustins, a thousand *Cyprians*, and a thousand churches, of which Henry is the defender, rise up against me. It is a small thing for me to despise and lash an earthly king, who himself has not feared, in his writing, to blaspheme the King of Heaven and profane his holiness by the most audacious falsehood. Papists, will you not desist from your vain pursuits? Do as you please; the result, however, must be, that before the gospel, which I, Martin Luther, have preached, popes, bishops, priests, monks, princes, devils, death, sin, and whatever is not Jesus Christ, or in Jesus Christ, shall fall and perish.'

"Thus spoke the poor monk. His violence, certainly, cannot be excused, if it is judged by the rule to which he himself appeals, viz., the word of God. However, to be just, let it be observed, that in the sixteenth century, this violence did not seem so strange as it appears in the present day. The learned were then one of the existing powers, as well as princes; Henry had attacked Luther by becoming an author; Luther replied conformably to the law received in the republic of letters, viz., that the thing to be considered is the truth of what is said, and not the quality of him who

says it. Let us also add, that when this very king turned against the pope, the insults which he received from the Romish writers, and the pope himself, far exceeded anything that had been said by Luther. Besides, if Luther called Dr. Eck an ass, and Henry VIII. a hog, he indignantly rejected the intervention of the secular arm, whereas Dr. Eck wrote a dissertation to prove that heretics ought to be burned, and Henry erected scaffolds agreeably to the precepts of the doctor of Ingoldstadt.

“A deep sensation was produced at the king’s court. Surrey, Wolsey, and the tribe of courtiers broke off the pomps and festivities of Greenwich, to vent their indignation in contumely and sarcasm. The bishop of Rochester immediately replied to it. His words are very characteristic of his time and his church. ‘Catch for us the small foxes that spoil the vines, says Christ in the Song of Songs. This shows,’ says Fisher, ‘that we must lay hands on heretics before they grow up. Now Luther has become a great fox—a fox so old, and cunning, and malicious, that it is very difficult to catch him. What do I say? a fox! he is a mad dog, a ravening wolf, a cruel bear, or rather all these animals at once, for the monster has several beasts in his bosom.’

“Thomas More also descended into the arena to encounter the monk of Wittemberg. Although a layman, he pushed his zeal against the Reformation the length of fanaticism, if he did not push it the length of blood. ‘Reverend brother, father, drunkard, deserter of the Augustin order, misshapen bacchanalian as to both kinds of law, untaught teacher of sacred theology.’ Such are the terms addressed to the Reformer by one of the most illustrious men of his time. Then explaining the mode in which Luther has composed his book against Henry, he says, ‘He called together his companions, and asked each to go his way, and rummage for buffoonery and insult. Everything they heard most filthy and infamous, they noted down, and bringing it back, threw it into that impure sink, called the mind of Luther.’ Luther had never stooped so low in his style. He made no reply. This production increased Henry’s attachment to More. The king thus defended by the bishop of Rochester and his

future chancellor, had no occasion to resume his pen. Confounded at seeing himself treated in the face of Europe as a mere author, Henry abandoned the dangerous position he had taken up, and, throwing away his theological pen, had recourse to the more efficacious methods of diplomacy.

“An ambassador set off from the court at Greenwich with a letter from the king to the Elector and the duke of Saxony. Henry thus expressed himself: ‘Luther, the true dragon, fallen from heaven, is pouring out his venomous floods on the earth. He is stirring up revolt in the church of Jesus Christ, abolishing the laws, insulting the powers, exciting laymen against priests, laymen and priests against the pope, and subjects against kings, his only wish being to see Christians fighting together and destroying each other, and the enemies of our faith grinning with delight over the scene of carnage. What is this doctrine which he terms evangelical, but the doctrine of Wickliffe? Now, most honoured uncles, I know what your ancestors did to destroy it. They pursued it in Bohemia as if it had been a wild beast, and causing it to fall into a trap, there enclosed and barricaded it. You will not allow it to escape by your negligence, steal into Saxony, and take possession of all Germany, sending forth from its fuming nostrils the fire of hell, and spreading far and wide the conflagration which your country so often desired to extinguish in its blood. Wherefore, most excellent friends, I feel myself called to exhort you, and even to implore you by all that is most sacred, speedily to strangle the cursed sect of Luther. Put no one to death if it can possibly be avoided; but if heretical obstinacy continues, *shed blood without fear* in order that this abominable sect may cease from under heaven.’

“The Elector and his brother referred the king to the future council. Thus Henry was far from succeeding in his object. ‘So great a man mingling in the dispute,’ says Paul Sarpi, ‘served to excite more curiosity and procure universal favour for Luther, as usually happens in combats and tournaments, where the spectators always incline to the weakest party, and take pleasure in giving a higher place to his humble exploits.’

“ In fact, an immense movement was taking place. The Reformation, which after the Diet of Worms was supposed to be shut up with its first teacher within the narrow chamber of a strong castle, burst forth, spreading throughout the empire, and even throughout Christendom. The two parties, till then confounded, began to stand apart from each other ;” the inner-court and outer-court worshippers began to be distinct, “ and the partisans of a monk who had nothing on his side but his eloquence, fearlessly took up their position confronting the servants of Charles V. and Leo. X.,” those “ who stood before the God of the earth.”

“ Luther had just quitted the walls of the Wartburg, the pope had excommunicated all who had adhered to him, the imperial Diet had condemned his doctrine, princes were hastening to crush it in the greater part of the Germanic states, the ministers of Rome were tearing it in pieces before the people by their violent invectives, the other states of Christendom were calling upon Germany to sacrifice an enemy whose attacks they dreaded even at a distance ; and yet this new and not numerous party, without organisation, without connecting ties, with nothing, in short, to concentrate the common strength, had already, by the energy of their faith and the rapidity of their conquests, spread terror over the vast, ancient, and mighty domain of Rome. Every day gave evidence of new progress. Individuals, villages, burghs, whole towns, united in the new confession of the name of Jesus Christ. There was stern resistance and dreadful persecution ; but *the mysterious power* which urged forward the people was irresistible, and the persecuted, hastening on and advancing, amid exile, imprisonment, and scaffolds, were everywhere succeeding against the persecutors.

“ The monastic orders which Rome had stretched over Christendom like a net, destined to take souls and hold them captive, were the first to break these bonds, and rapidly propagate the new doctrine throughout the western church. At Nuremberg, Osnabruck, Dettingen, Ratisbon, Hesse, Wurtemberg, Strasburg, Antwerp, the Augustin convents turned towards Christ, and by their courage provoked the wrath of Rome. But the movement was not confined to

the Augustins. They were imitated in the monasteries of the other orders by bold individuals, who, in spite of the clamour of such monks as were unwilling to abandon their carnal observances, in spite of wrath, contempt, and sentences of condemnation, in spite of discipline and cloistral prisons, fearlessly raised their voice for this holy and precious truth, which, after so many painful searches, so many distressing doubts, so many internal struggles, they had found at last. Often even the heads of convents were the first to move in the direction of reform. In fact, throughout Germany, monks were seen depositing their frocks and cowls at the door of their monastery. The majority were convinced that the monastic life was opposed to the will of God and the Christian life. Nor were monks the only persons who ranged themselves under the standard of the gospel; priests in still greater numbers preached the new doctrine. A formidable opposition burst forth. The clergy and frequently the magistrates used every effort to bring back those souls which they would have destroyed; but there was in the new preaching an accordance with scripture, and a hidden energy which won men's hearts, subduing the most rebellious. At the risk of their goods, or if need were, at the risk of their lives, they embraced the cause of the gospel, and abandoned the barren, fanatical orators of the papacy. Sometimes the people, irritated at being so long imposed upon, compelled the priests to withdraw, but more frequently the priests, abandoned by their flocks, without tithes, without offerings, went off in sadness of their own accord, to go and seek a living elsewhere. And while the props of the ancient hierarchy withdrew sullen and downcast, sometimes taking leave of their old flocks in words of malediction," in accordance with their characteristics, "the people, overjoyed at having found truth and liberty, gathered round the new preachers with acclamation, and eager to hear the word, carried them, as it were, in triumph into the church and the pulpit.

"A powerful doctrine which came from God was then renovating society. The people or their leaders frequently wrote for some man of known faith to come and enlighten

them, and he, for the love of the gospel, forthwith abandoned all—family, friends, and country. Persecution often forced the friends of the Reformation to quit their homes. Arriving in some place where it was not yet known, finding some house which offered an asylum to poor travellers, they spoke of the gospel, read some pages of it to the attentive burghers, and obtained leave, perhaps at the request of their new friends, to preach one sermon in the church. Then a vast conflagration burst forth in the town, and the utmost efforts were unable to extinguish it. If permission to preach in the church was denied, they preached elsewhere. Every place became a church. At Gosslar, a student of Wittemberg preached in a grove of linden trees, a circumstance which procured for the evangelical Christians the name of *Linden Brothers*.

“While the priests were exhibiting in the eyes of the people a sordid avidity, the new preachers thus addressed them :—‘We received it freely, and we give it to you freely.’ An idea often proclaimed from the pulpit by the new preachers, viz., that Rome had of old sent the Germans a corrupted gospel, and that Germany was now, for the first time, hearing the word of Jesus Christ in its divine and primitive beauty, produced a profound impression. The great idea of the equality of all men and of an universal brotherhood in Jesus Christ, enraptured those who had been weighed down under the yoke of feudalism and the papacy of the middle ages.

“Often unlettered Christians, with the New Testament in their hands, offered to defend the Reformed doctrine. The catholics, adhering to Rome, withdrew in alarm; for the business of studying the holy scriptures was committed to priests and monks only. These accordingly saw themselves obliged to come forward. A discussion commenced, but the priests and monks, overwhelmed by laymen with quotations from the holy scriptures, soon knew not what to oppose to them. ‘Unfortunately,’ says Cochläus, ‘Luther had persuaded his followers that faith was to be given only to the oracle of the sacred books.’ A shout arose in the assembly, and proclaimed the shameful ignorance of these old theolo-

gians, who till then had passed with their party for men of learning. The humblest individuals, even the weaker sex, with the help of the word, persuaded and gained converts." Having received the little book from the angel's hand, they gave it to others.

"Extraordinary acts are done in extraordinary times. At Ingoldstadt, under the very eyes of Dr. Eck, a young weaver read the writings of Luther to the assembled multitude. In the same place, the university, having resolved to force a recantation from a pupil of Melancthon, a female, Argula of Staufen, undertook his defence, and challenged the professors to a public disputation. Women and children, artisans and soldiers, were more learned in the Bible than teachers in schools and priests at altars.

"Christianity was divided into two camps, whose appearance presented a striking contrast. Confronting the old supporters of the hierarchy, who had neglected the acquisition of languages and the cultivation of letters (this is the account given by one of themselves), stood a generous youth, accustomed to study, deeply read in the scriptures, and familiar with the masterpieces of antiquity. Gifted with a ready understanding, an elevated mind, and an intrepid heart, these youths soon acquired such knowledge, that for a long time none could compete with them. Their superiority to their contemporaries consisted not merely in their living faith, but also in an elegance of style, a savour of antiquity, a true philosophy, a knowledge of the world, completely unknown to the theologians of the old stock—as Cochläus himself designates them. Accordingly, when these young defenders of the Reformation happened to come in contact, at some public meeting, with the Roman doctors, they attacked them with so much ease and confidence, that the illiterate doctors hesitated, became confused, and fell, deservedly, into universal contempt. The ancient edifice gave way under the weight of superstition and ignorance, and the new edifice was reared up on the basis of faith and knowledge."

Were it not that the prophecy has committed the humiliation and spiritual death of the professing Christian church,

now stripped of her false clothing, to “the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit,” we might be disposed to attribute to this testimony a fulfilment of that predicted event. Not being so permitted, however, we may at least hail it as showing that the power of the “reed like unto a rod” was rapidly and effectively performing its assigned part in promoting the expected consummation. D'Aubigné continues:—“New elements were introduced into common life. Lethargy and stupidity were everywhere succeeded by a spirit of inquiry and a thirst for instruction. An active, enlightened, and living faith took the place of superstitious observances and ascetic contemplation. Devout works succeeded devotee practices and penances; the pulpit was preferred to the ceremonies of the altar, and the ancient and sovereign authority of the word of God was again established in the church. Printing, that mighty engine which the fifteenth century had invented, seconded all these efforts, and by means of its powerful projectiles, was continually making breaches in the walls of the enemy. An immense impulse was given to popular literature. What Luther and his friends composed, others disseminated. Monks, convinced of the unlawfulness of monastic ties, desirous to substitute a life of activity for long idleness, but too ignorant to be themselves teachers of the word, traversed the provinces, and visited the hamlets and huts, selling the works of Luther and his friends. Printers and booksellers eagerly received all the writings in defence of the Reformation, but declined those of the opposite party, which were usually a mere compound of ignorance and barbarism. When any one of them ventured to sell a book in favour of the papacy, and to expose it at fairs, at Frankfort, or elsewhere, dealers, purchasers, or literary men assailed him with a shower of derision or sarcasm. In vain had the emperor and the princes issued severe edicts against the writings of the Reformers.” The power of the rod in the hands of the Reformers was irresistible. “Whenever an inquisitorial visit was to be made, the merchants, who had secret notice of it, concealed the books which were proscribed; and the people always eager for what is sought to be kept from them, afterwards

got possession of these writings, and read them more greedily than before. These things were not confined to Germany. Luther's writings were translated into French, Spanish, English, and Italian, and disseminated among these nations.

"If the humblest individuals inflicted such heavy blows on Rome, what must it have been when the monk of Wittemberg made his own voice be heard. Shortly after the defeat of the new prophets, Luther, dressed as a layman, crossed the territory of duke George in a car. His frock was concealed, and his appearance was that of an ordinary citizen of the country. Had he been recognised, perhaps it would have been all over with him. He was going to preach at Zwickau, the cradle of the new prophets. No sooner was this known at Schneeberg, Annaberg, and the neighbourhood, than crowds began to flock to it. Fourteen thousand persons arrived in the town, and as there was no church capable of containing such a multitude, Luther got up on the balcony of the town-house, and preached to an audience of twenty-five thousand, who covered the public square. Thousands of hearers were seized with a feeling of enthusiasm, exchanging looks, and shaking hands with each other. The monks, struck dumb, could not quell the storm, and shortly saw themselves obliged to quit Zwickau.

"Duke Henry, the brother of duke George, was residing in the castle of Freyberg. He was married to a princess of Mecklenburg, who, the year before, had given him a son, named Maurice. He was pious after the fashion of the times, and had made one pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and another to St. James of Compostella. 'At Compostella,' he was wont to say, 'I placed a hundred gold florins on the altar of the saint, saying to him, O! St. James, it was to please you I came hither; I make you a present of this money; but if those rogues (the priests) take it from you, I cannot help it; look then to yourself.' A Franciscan and a Dominican, disciples of Luther, had for some time been preaching the gospel at Freyberg. The duchess, whose piety had inspired her with a horror at heresy, listened to their discourses, wondering how that sweet doctrine of a Saviour could be the doctrine which she had been made to

dread so much. Her eyes were gradually opened, and she found peace in Jesus Christ.

“No sooner did it reach the ears of duke George that the gospel was preached at Freyberg, than he prayed his brother to set his face against these novelties. Chancellor Strehlin and the canons seconded him with their fanaticism. There was a great explosion at the court of Freyberg. Duke Henry harshly reprimanded and upbraided the pious duchess, who on more than one occasion shed tears over the cradle of her child. Her prayers and gentleness gradually won the duke’s heart; the harshness of his nature was softened; and complete harmony was established between the spouses, who could now pray together beside their son. A great destiny was reserved for this child; from this cradle, over which a Christian mother had so often poured forth her griefs, God was one day to bring forth the defender of the Reformation.

“The inhabitants of Worms had been deeply moved by Luther’s intrepidity. The magistrates durst not contravene the imperial decree, and *all the churches were shut* (“These have power to shut heaven that it rain not in the days of their prophecy”); but in an open space, covered with an immense assemblage, a preacher from a pulpit of rude construction preached the gospel with power. If the authorities made their appearance, the crowd dispersed in a moment, secretly carrying off the pulpit; but, when the storm blew over, it was immediately erected in some more distant spot, whither the crowd again flocked to hear the word of Christ. This temporary pulpit was daily carried from place to place, and served to confirm the people in the impression which they had received from the grand scene at the Diet.

“In one of the free towns of the empire, Frankfort on the Maine, the greatest agitation prevailed. Ibach, a courageous evangelist, was there preaching salvation by Jesus Christ. The clergy, of whom Cochläus, so well known by his writings and his hatred, was one, enraged at this audacious colleague, denounced him to the archbishop of Mentz. The council, though timid, tried to defend him, but in vain: he was deposed by the clergy and banished.

Rome triumphed. The faithful in humble life thought themselves for ever deprived of the word. But, at the moment when the citizens seemed disposed to yield to those tyrannical priests, several of the nobility declared in favour of the gospel. Four of these, whose estates were in the neighbourhood of Frankfort, wrote to the council, 'We are constrained to oppose these wolves.' In an address to the clergy, they say, 'Embrace the evangelical doctrine, recal Ibach, or we will withhold our tithes.' The people who relished the Reformed doctrine were emboldened by this language of the nobles; and one day, when Peter Mayer, the priest most opposed to the Reformation, and the persecutor of Ibach, was going to preach against the heretics, a great tumult suddenly arose. Mayer took fright, and rushed out of the church. This commotion decided the council, who issued an order enjoining all preachers simply to preach the word of God, or quit the town.

"The light, which had radiated from Wittemberg as its centre, was thus diffused over the whole empire. In the west—the districts of Berg, Cleves, Lippstadt, Munster, Wesel, Miltenberg, Mentz, Deux-ponts, and Strasburgh, heard the gospel. In the south—Hof, Schlesstadt, Bamberg, Esslingen, Hall in Suabia, Heilbronn, Augsburg, Ulm, and many other places, hailed it with joy. In the east—the duchy of Liegnitz, Prussia, and Pomerania opened their gates to it. In the north—Brunswick, Halberstadt, Gosslar, Zell, Friesland, Bremen, Hamburg, Holstein, and even Denmark and other neighbouring countries, were moved at the sound of the new doctrine.

"The Elector had declared that he would give the bishops full liberty to preach in his states, but that he would not deliver any person up to them. Accordingly, the evangelical preachers, persecuted in other countries, soon began to take refuge in Saxony. These, by intercourse with the Reformers, had their own faith strengthened, and communicated the results of their experience, and of the light which they had received. The work, which was in course of development at Wittemberg, thus composed of many different elements, was constantly becoming more and

more the work of the nation—of Europe—of Christendom. This school, founded by Frederick, and animated by Luther, was the centre of the vast revolution which was renewing the church, and imprinted on it a real and living unity, far superior to the apparent unity of Rome. The Bible reigned at Wittenberg, and its oracles were everywhere heard. This university, the most recent of all, had acquired in Christendom the rank and influence which had hitherto belonged to the ancient university of Paris. The crowds, who flocked to it from every part of Europe, told the wants of the church and the nations, and, on quitting its walls, now become sacred in their eyes, carried back to the church and to the people the word of grace, destined to cure and save the nations.

“Luther, at the sight of this success, felt his courage strengthened. He saw a feeble enterprise, begun amid numerous fears and agonies, changing the face of the Christian world, and he was astonished. He had foreseen nothing of the kind when he first rose up against Tezel. Prostrating himself before the God whom he adored, he acknowledged that this work was his work, and he triumphed in the conviction of having gained a victory which could not again be wrested from him. ‘Our enemies threaten us with death,’ said he, ‘had they as much wisdom as they have folly, it would, on the contrary, be life that they would threaten us with. It is not mere jest or insult to threaten Christ and Christians with death,’ (“where also our Lord was crucified”), ‘in other words, those who are the masters and conquerors of death. Do they not know, then, that Christ is risen from the dead? As to them, he is still lying in the sepulchre. Where do I say? In hell. But we, we know that he lives!’ He was indignant at the idea of being regarded as the author of a work, in the minutest details of which he recognised the hand of God. ‘Several,’ said he, ‘believe on my account; but these only are in the truth who would remain faithful, though they were to believe (which God forbid) that I had denied Jesus Christ. The true disciples believe not in Luther, but in Jesus Christ. For my own part, I care not for Luther.

Be he saint, or be he rogue, what is it to me ? It is not him I preach, it is Christ. If the devil can take him, let him take him. But let Christ remain with us, and we shall remain also.'

"In fact it were vain to attempt to explain this movement by natural means. The literati, it is true, whetted their pens, and threw sharp darts at the monks and the pope; the cry of freedom, which Germany had so often raised against the tyranny of the Italians, again resounded in castles and provinces; the people rejoiced when they heard the notes of 'the nightingale of Wittenberg,' a presage of the spring which was everywhere beginning to bud. But the movement which was then taking place was not similar to that which a longing for earthly freedom produces. Those who say that the Reformation was produced by offering the property of convents to princes, marriage to priests, and liberty to the people, strangely misapprehend its nature. No doubt, a useful employment of the funds which had till then fostered the idleness of monks, no doubt marriage and liberty, both of them gifts from God, might favour the development of the Reformation, but the moving force was not there. An internal revolution was then produced in the depths of the human heart. The Christian people again learned to love, forgive, pray, suffer, and even die for a truth which promised repose only in heaven. The church was transformed. Christianity burst the swathes which had so long enwrap it, and again returned full of life to a world which had forgotten its ancient power. The hand which made the world was again at work upon it, and the gospel reappearing amidst the nations"—as foreshown to John by "an angel coming down from heaven, having in his hand a little book, and who set his right foot upon the sea, and his left foot on the earth"—"pursued its course in spite of the powerful and reiterated efforts of kings and priests, in the same way as the ocean, when the hand of God presses on its waves, rises calmly and majestically along the shore, while no human power is capable of arresting its progress.

"The Reformation, which at first had existed only in th

heart of some pious individuals, had entered the worship and life of the church. It was natural for it to take a new step—to penetrate into civil relations and the movements of nations. Its progress was invariably from within to without. We shall now see this great revolution taking its place in the political world. For nearly eight centuries Europe formed a vast sacerdotal state. Emperors and kings were under the patronage of popes. Though there had been in France, and especially in Germany, energetic resistance to audacious claims, Rome had finally succeeded, and princes had been seen acting as the docile executioners of her horrible judgments, fighting in order to secure her empire against private Christians subject to their sway, and on her account profusely shedding the blood of their people. No assault could be made on this vast ecclesiastical state, of which the pope was the head, without powerfully affecting political relations. At this time two great ideas agitated Germany; on the one hand, a renovation of faith was desired; on the other, a national government, in which the Germanic states should be represented, and a counterpoise thereby formed to the power of the emperors.

“The Elector Frederick had insisted on this at the election which had given a successor to Maximilian, and young Charles had acceded to it. A national government, consisting of the emperor and the representatives of the electors, and circles had in consequence been formed. Thus, Luther reformed the church, and Frederick of Saxony reformed the state. But while, in correspondence to the religious reform, important political modifications were introduced by the heads of the nation, there was a danger that ‘the commonalty’ might also begin to move, and, by religious and political excesses, compromise both reformations. This violent and fanatical intrusion of the populace and certain of their leaders, which seems inevitable whenever society is shaken and transformed, failed not to be manifested in Germany at the time of which we now treat. There were other causes besides which gave rise to these agitations. The emperor and the pope had leagued against the Reformation. Policy, interest, and ambition prompted Charles V.

and Leo X. to attempt its destruction. But these are poor champions against the truth. Devotedness to a cause which is regarded as sacred, can only be overcome by counter devotedness. Now Rome, docile to the impulse of Leo X., was insensible to the religion of Jesus Christ. She became engrossed with alliances, wars, conquests, treaties, under which she might save her provinces, while with cool disdain she left the Reformation to revive religious enthusiasm, and move forward in triumph to still nobler conquests. The enemy, whose destruction had been vowed in the cathedral of Worms, presented himself full of courage and might; the struggle behoved to be keen; blood must flow.

“Meanwhile some of the most pressing dangers with which the Reformation was threatened seemed to diminish. Charles, dissatisfied with Germany, quitted the banks of the Rhine, proceeded to the Low Countries, and took advantage of the period of his residence there, to give the monks the gratifications” of their Apocalyptic characteristics, “which he found himself unable to grant within the empire. Luther’s works were burnt at Ghent by the hands of the executioner with all possible solemnity. More than fifty thousand spectators were present at this *auto-da-fé*, and the emperor himself countenanced it with an approving smile. He next proceeded to Spain, when wars and troubles compelled him for some time at least to let Germany alone. Since the power which he claims in the empire is refused, let others pursue the heretic of Wittemberg. He is engrossed by graver cares.

“While these things were passing in Spain, Rome herself seemed to assume a more serious character. The great patron of music, hunting, and festivity disappeared from the pontifical throne to give place to a grave and pious monk. Leo X. had felt great delight on hearing of the edict of Worms, and the captivity of Luther, and forthwith, as a token of his victory,” and in accordance with the Apocalyptic representation, “had caused the effigy and writings of the Reformer to be given to the flames. This was the second or third time that the papacy had enjoyed this pleasure. At this time, Leo, wishing to testify his

gratitude to Charles V., united his army to that of the emperor. The French were obliged to quit Parma, Placenza, and Milan. Leo X. was at his favourite residence, Malliana, at the time when news reached him of the taking of Milan. The courtiers and officials could not restrain their joy. Leo returned to Rome intoxicated with delight. Scarcely had he returned to the Vatican, when he was suddenly taken ill. 'Pray for me,' said he to his servants. He had not even time to receive the holy sacrament, and died in the vigour of life (forty-seven), in the hour of triumph, and amid the noise of festivity. The people, while accompanying the hearse of the sovereign pontiff, gave utterance to invectives. They could not forgive his having died without the sacraments, and left debts consequent on his great expenditure. 'Thou didst rise to the pontificate as a fox,' said the Romans, 'there thou playedst the lion, and now thou art gone like a dog.' Such was the mourning with which Rome honoured the pope who excommunicated the Reformation, and whose name serves to mark one of the great epochs in history.

"The interest of the empire now took precedence of that of the church, and Charles V. behoved to have a pope who was devoted to himself. The cardinal de Medici, afterwards pope, under the name of Clement VII., seeing that he could not yet obtain the tiara, exclaimed, 'Take the cardinal of Tortosa, who is old and universally regarded as a saint.' This prelate was, in fact, elected, and reigned under the name of Adrian VI. Notwithstanding the dissatisfaction at first expressed by the people of Rome, Adrian VI. repaired thither in August 1522. He arrived at the Vatican with his old housekeeper, whom he charged to continue to provide for his modest wants in the magnificent palace which Leo had filled with luxury and dissipation. He had none of the tastes of his predecessor. When he showed the magnificent statue of the Laocoon, he turned away coldly, saying '*These are Pagan idols*,'—'I would far rather,' he wrote, 'serve God as provost of Louvain, than as pope of Rome.'

"Adrian, struck with the danger with which the Reformation menaced the religion of the middle ages, and not, like the Italians, with those to which it exposed Rome and its

hierarchy, was sincerely desirous to combat and arrest it; and it seemed to him that the best method of succeeding was, a reform of the church produced by the church herself. 'The church,' said he, 'is in need of a reform, but we must proceed in it step by step.' 'The opinion of the pope,' says Luther, 'is, that between two steps there must be an interval of several ages.'

"Adrian, faithful to his plan, was engaged in clearing the city of the profane, of forgers, and usurers. The task was not easy, for they formed a considerable part of the population. At first the Romans jeered at him, but shortly they hated him. Sacerdotal ascendancy, and the immense profits which it produced—the might of Rome—the sports, luxury, and festivities which abounded in it, would be all irrecoverably lost by a return to apostolic manners. In fact, Adrian had soon much more to dread from Romanism than from Lutheranism. Attempts were made to bring him back to the path which he was desirous to quit. 'Ah!' replied the pontiff, with a deep sigh, 'how unfortunate the condition of the popes.'

"On the 23rd March, 1522, before Adrian's arrival at Rome, the Diet had assembled at Nuremberg. Previous to this, the bishops of Mersburg and Misnia had asked permission from the Elector of Saxony to make a visitation of the convents and churches of his states. Frederick, thinking that the truth should be strong enough to resist error, had given a favourable answer. The visitation took place. The bishops and their doctors preached fiercely against reform. They exhorted, threatened, supplicated; but their arguments seemed without force, and when, wishing to recur to more efficacious weapons," and to indulge their assigned characteristics, "they asked the secular arm to execute their decrees, the Elector's ministers replied that the affair required to be examined by the Bible, and that the Elector could not, at his advanced age, sit down to the study of theology. These efforts of the bishops did not bring back a single soul to the fold of Rome.

"There was reason to fear that archduke Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, would do what Frederick had refused.

In fact, Ferdinand had commenced a cruel persecution of the partisans of the Reformation in his hereditary states of Austria. But, for the deliverance of reviving Christianity, God repeatedly employed the same instrument which he had used in destroying corrupted Christianity. The crescent appeared in the terrified provinces of Hungary. On the 9th of August, Belgrade, the bulwark of that kingdom and of the empire, yielded to the assaults of Solyman. The followers of Mahomet," who ascended from the bottomless pit, "after their evacuation of Spain, seemed desirous to re-enter Europe by the East. The Diet of Nuremberg forgot the monk of Worms, to think only of the Luther of Constantinople. But Charles V. kept both adversaries in his view. Writing the pope from Valladolid, on the 31st October, he said, 'It is necessary to arrest the Turks and punish the partisans of the poisonous doctrines of Luther with the sword.'

"The storm, which seemed to have turned away from the Reformation and proceeded toward the east, gathered anew over the head of the Reformer. His return to Wittemberg, and the zeal which he then displayed, had awakened the old hatred. 'Now that we know where to take him,' said duke George, 'let the decree of Worms be carried into execution.' It was even confidently affirmed in Germany that both the emperor and Adrian would appear together at Nuremberg to advise this. 'Satan feels the wound which he has received,' said Luther, 'and therefore puts himself in all this rage. But Christ has already stretched forth his hand, and will trample him under his feet in spite of the gates of hell.'

"In December, 1522, the Diet again assembled at Nuremberg. Everything appeared to announce that, if Solyman was the great enemy who engrossed the attention of the spring session, Luther would be the engrossing one of the winter session. Adrian VI. charged Chierigati, whom he had known in Spain, to repair to Nuremberg. No sooner was the Diet met than several princes made violent speeches against Luther. Chierigati, in unison with the archbishop of Salzburg, demanded the death of Luther. 'It is necessary,' said he, on the part of the pope, and with a papal brief in

his hands, 'it is necessary to amputate this gangrened limb from the body. Your fathers at Constance put to death John Huss and Jerome of Prague; but they revive in Luther. Follow the glorious example of your ancestors,' be faithful to your Apocalyptic character, 'and, with the assistance of God and St. Peter, carry off a magnificent victory over the infernal dragon.'

"On hearing the brief of the pious and moderate Adrian, most of the princes were seized with terror. Several were beginning to have a better understanding of the arguments of Luther, and had hoped other things of the pope. So then, Rome, under an Adrian, refuses to acknowledge her faults: *she is still preparing her thunder*, and the Germanic provinces are to be covered with desolation and blood. While the princes kept a mournful silence, the prelates and the members of the Diet were in an uproar. 'Let him be put to death,' exclaimed they, within hearing of the envoy of Saxony, who was present at the sitting.

"Very different expressions were heard in the churches of Nuremberg. Crowds flocked to the preaching of the gospel. Monks, quitting the convent of the town, learned trades, in order to gain a livelihood by their own hands. Chieregati could not tolerate this boldness. He demanded that the rebellious priests and monks should be cast into prison. The Diet, notwithstanding strong^d opposition from the envoys of the Elector of Saxony, and the margrave Casimir, resolved to order the apprehension of the monks. However, the citizens prevented it. While the Diet was deliberating as to what should be done in regard to their ministers, the town council was deliberating as to what should be done in regard to the resolution of the Diet. The decision was, that, if it was attempted by the strong hand to carry off the ministers of the town, they would with the strong hand set them at liberty.

"The Diet, in astonishment, intimated to the nuncio that it was contrary to law to apprehend the ministers of the free town of Nuremberg without having convicted them of heresy. Chieregati was deeply moved at this new affront to the omnipotence of the pope. 'Very well,' said he,

proudly, to Ferdinand, ‘do nothing but leave me to act. I will seize these heretical preachers, in the pope’s name.’ The nuncio, however, abandoned his project. Having no longer any hope of succeeding in the way of authority, he resolved to have recourse to other expedients, and with this view communicated to the Diet the intentions and injunctions of the pontiff, which he had hitherto concealed. But honest Adrian, who was a stranger to the world, by his very frankness, injured the cause which he had so much at heart. ‘We know well,’ said he, in the resolutions transmitted to his legate, ‘that for several years many abuses and abominations have existed in the holy city. The contagion has spread from the head into the members; it has descended from the popes to the other ecclesiastics. We desire the reformation of this Roman court, whence proceed so many evils; the whole world desires it, and it was with a view to its accomplishment that we were resigned to mount the pontifical throne.’

“The partisans of Rome blushed for shame when they heard these strange words. They thought the confession too frank. On the contrary, the friends of the Reformation rejoiced on hearing Rome proclaiming her corruption. There was no longer any doubt that Luther was right, since the pope himself declared it.

“The reply of the Diet showed how much the authority of the sovereign pontiff had fallen in the empire;” in accordance with the predicted power bestowed on the reformed church by the Apocalyptic “reed like unto a rod.” “The spirit of Luther seemed to have passed into the hearts of the representatives of the nation. The moment was favourable, Adrian’s ear was open; the emperor was absent; the Diet resolved to collect into one body all the grievances which Germany complained of against Rome, and dispatch them to the pope. The legate, alarmed at this determination, supplicated and menaced by turns, but in vain. Eighty-four grievances were specified. The abuses and stratagems of the Roman court in making extortions on Germany—the scandals and profanation of the clergy—the irregularities and simony of the ecclesiastical tribunals—the

encroachment on the secular power in enslaving consciences, were exposed with equal frankness and force. The states hinted that human traditions were the source of all this corruption. They concluded thus: 'If these grievances are not reduced within a limited time, we will consider other means of escaping from all this oppression and suffering.' Chiericati, foreseeing the fearful detail into which the Diet would enter, quitted Nuremberg in haste, that he might not be the bearer of so disagreeable and insolent a message.

"Still, was there not room to apprehend that the Diet might be willing to compensate for their boldness by sacrificing Luther? It was thought so at first; but a spirit of truth and justice had fallen on this assembly. They, like Luther, demanded that a free council should be convened in the empire, and added, that until it took place the pure gospel only should be preached, and nothing should be printed without the approbation of certain individuals of character and learning.

"These resolutions enable us to apprehend the immense progress which the Reformation had made since the Diet of Worms. The decision of the Diet was regarded as a first victory gained by the Reformation, and was to be succeeded by others still more decisive. Even the Swiss, in their mountains, thrilled with joy. 'The Roman pontiff is vanquished in Germany,' said Zuinglius, 'all that remains is to wrest his arms from him. This is the battle we have now to wage, and it will be the fiercest; but we have Christ as witness of the combat.' Luther declared aloud that God had inspired the edict of the princes.

"There was great wrath in the Vatican among the ministers of the papacy. What! it is not enough to have a pope who disappoints all the hopes of the Romans, and in whose palace there is neither music nor play; must secular princes, moreover, hold a language which Rome detests, and refuse the death of the heretic of Wittemberg?

"Adrian himself was very indignant at the proceedings in Germany. It was on the Elector of Saxony he discharged his anger. Never, perhaps, did Rome sound an alarm more energetic, sincere, and even more impressive. 'We have

waited long, perhaps too long,' said the pious Adrian, in the brief which he addressed to the Elector, 'we were desirous to see if God would not be pleased to visit your soul, and enable you at last to escape from the snares of Satan. But where we hoped to gather grapes, we have gathered only sour grapes. The spirit has blown in vain. Your iniquities have not melted away. Open your eyes, then, and see the greatness of your fall. If the unity of the church has been broken, if the simple have been turned aside from the faith which they had sucked at the breasts of their mother, if the churches are deserted, if the people are without priests, and the priests no longer receive the honour which is due to them, if Christians are without Christ, to whom do we owe it, if not to yourself? If Christian peace has fled the earth, if the world is full of discord, rebellion, robbery, assassination, conflagration, if the cry of war resounds from east to west, if a universal battle is preparing, you, still you are the cause. Do you not see that sacrilegious man (Luther) tearing to pieces the images of the saints, and even the sacred cross of Jesus Christ, with his guilty hands, and trampling them under his impure feet? Do you not see him, in his impious wrath, stirring up the laity to wash their hands in the blood of the priests, and throw down the churches of the Lord? What matters it, though the priests whom he attacks be bad priests? Has not the Lord said, Do what they say, and not what they do, thus pointing at the honour which is due to them, even when their conduct is culpable. Rebellious apostate, he is not ashamed to defile the vessels consecrated to the Lord; he plucks from their sanctuaries the holy virgins consecrated to Christ, and gives them to the devil; he takes the priests of the Lord and gives them up to infamous prostitutes. Frightful profanation, at which the Pagans even would have been horrified, had they seen it in the pontiffs of their idols! Of what punishment, of what suffering, think you, then, we shall deem you worthy? Take pity on yourself, take pity on your miserable Saxons; for if you are not speedily converted, God will cause his vengeance to descend upon you. In the name of God Almighty, and of our Lord Jesus

Christ, whose representative on the earth I am, I declare to you that you will be punished in this world, and plunged into the eternal fire in that which is to come. Repent, and be converted! Two swords are suspended over your head, the sword of the empire, and the sword of the popedom.'

"The pious Frederick trembled on reading this menacing brief. A short time before he had written to the emperor to say, that old age and sickness rendered him incapable of occupying himself with these affairs; and the reply given to him was the most arrogant letter that ever a sovereign prince had received. Weakened by age, he cast his eyes on that sword which he had carried to the holy sepulchre in the days of his strength. He began to think it might be necessary to unsheath it in defence of the consciences of his subjects, and that already on the brink of the grave, he would not be able to go down to it in peace. He immediately wrote to Wittemberg for the advice of the fathers of the Reformation.

"There, also, troubles and persecutions were foreseen. 'What shall I say,' exclaimed the mild Melancthon, 'to what side shall I turn? We are overwhelmed with hatred, and the world is transported with rage against us.' Luther, Linck, Melancthon, Bugenhagen, and Amsdorff consulted together, as to the answer to be returned to the Elector. They all proposed nearly the same answer. Their opinion is very striking. 'No prince,' said they, 'can undertake a war without the consent of the people from whose hands he received the government. Now, the people have no wish to fight for the gospel, for they do not believe it. Let the princes, then, not take up arms; they are princes of the nations, in other words, of unbelievers.'

"Thus it was the impetuous Luther who asked sage Frederick to put up the sword into its sheath. He could not give a better answer to the charge brought against him by the pope, of stirring up the laity to wash their hands in the blood of the clergy. Few characters have been less understood than his. This opinion is dated the 8th February, 1523. Frederick restrained himself."

The historian, having in the language of the pope's

letter, and in that of former historic testimonies, well prepared us for the predicted death of the witnesses, and shown us the effects of the exercise of the power symbolized by the “reed like unto a rod,” and thus abundantly illustrated the prophecy in that respect; he next reveals to us “the symbolic candlesticks and olive trees which stood before the God of the earth,” in the exercise of their Apocalyptic characteristics with redoubled violence, thus leaving no room for doubt as to the fidelity of their prophetic delineation. He says in continuation, “The wrath of the pope soon bore its proper fruits. The princes, who had expounded their grievances against Rome, frightened at their boldness, sought to appease him by compliance. Several besides declared that victory must remain with the pontiff of Rome, as he appeared to be the stronger. ‘In our day,’ says Luther, ‘princes content themselves with saying, three times three make nine, or twice seven make fourteen—the account is correct; the affair will succeed. Then our Lord God rises up and says, ‘For how much, then, do you count me? For a cipher, perhaps. Then he turns their calculations upside down, and their accounts prove erroneous.’

“The flame breathed forth by the humble and meek Adrian, kindled the conflagration. His remonstrance caused an immense sensation throughout Christendom. Persecution, which had, for some time, been arrested, again commenced. Luther trembled for Germany, and strove to lay the storm. ‘If the princes,’ said he, ‘set themselves in opposition to the truth, the result will be a tumult, which will destroy princes, magistrates, priests and people. They wish to destroy Luther, but Luther wishes to save them. Christ lives and reigns; I shall live and reign with him.’

“These words were without effect; Rome was hastening on towards scaffolds and blood. The Reformation, like Jesus Christ, had not come to bring peace, but a sword. For the purposes of God persecution was necessary. As objects are hardened by fire, to protect them from the influence of the atmosphere, so a trial by fire was to secure evangelical truth against the influence of the world. But this fire did more: it served, as in the early days of Chris-

tianity, to kindle a universal enthusiasm for the cause so virulently persecuted.

“Duke George headed the persecution. But he deemed it a small matter to employ it in his own states. He wished, above all, to see its ravages in Electoral Saxony—the focus of heresy—and he did everything to shake the Elector Frederick and duke John. Writing them from Nuremberg, he says:—‘Would to God that those who boast of having raised up the gospel in the electorate had rather carried it to Constantinople. Luther has a soft and pleasant voice, but a venomous tail, which stings like that of a scorpion’ (an interesting comment on the language of the fifth trumpet’s prophecy is here observable). ‘Let us prepare for the battle. Let us throw these apostate monks and priests into chains, and that without delay; for our remaining locks as well as beards grow white, and remind us that we have only a few days for action.’

“George not being able to persuade Frederick, hastened in his own neighbourhood to give proof of his severity against the cause which he hated. He imprisoned the monks and priests who adhered to Luther. He ordered back the students belonging to his states who were studying at the universities tainted with the Reformation, and he ordered all New Testaments in the vulgar tongue to be delivered up to the magistrates. The same course was followed in Austria, Wurtemberg, and the duchy of Brunswick.

“But it was in the Low Countries, which were under the immediate authority of Charles V., that the persecution burst forth with greatest fury. The Augustin convent at Antwerp was full of monks who had received the truth of the gospel. The prior, James Probst, who was of a fiery temperament, and Melchior Mirisch, who was, on the other hand, distinguished for ability and prudence, were arrested and carried to Brussels. Probst, surprised and terrified, recanted; Melchior Mirisch found means of softening his judges, and escaped both condemnation and recantation.

“These persecutions did not intimidate the monks who were left in the convent of Antwerp. They continued

vigorously to preach the gospel. In October, 1522, the storm, which was gathering over their heads, burst; the convent was shut up, and the monks were imprisoned and condemned to death. Some made their escape. Some females, forgetting the timidity of their sex, rescued one of them, Henry of Zuphten, from his executioners. All the vessels of the convent were sold, the building was barricaded, and the holy sacrament removed from it as from a place become infamous. Margaret, the regent of the Low Countries, received it solemnly into the church of the holy virgin. Orders were given that this heretical monastery should be razed to its foundations; and several citizens and females who had received the gospel with joy were cast into prison. Luther was much grieved on learning these tidings. ‘The cause which we defend,’ said he, ‘is no longer a simple game; it wishes blood; it demands life.’

“The fates of Mirisch and Probst were to be very different. The prudent Mirisch soon became the docile servant of Rome and the executioner of the imperial decrees against the adherents of the Reformation. On the contrary, Probst, who had escaped from the inquisitors, bewailed his fault, withdrew his recantation, and, at Bruges in Flanders, boldly preached the doctrine which he had abjured. Arrested anew and imprisoned at Brussels, his death seemed inevitable. A Franciscan, moved with pity, aided his escape, and Probst, ‘saved by a miracle of God,’ says Luther, arrived at Wittemberg, where his double deliverance filled the hearts of the friends of the Reformation with joy.

“The Romish priests were everywhere in arms. The town of Miltenberg on the Maine, belonging to the elector-archbishop of Mentz, was one of the Germanic cities which had received the word of God with the greatest readiness. The inhabitants were strongly attached to their pastor, John Draco, one of the most enlightened men of his time. He was compelled to retire, but the Roman ecclesiastics quitted at the same time, dreading the popular vengeance. At the same time, troops from Mentz entered and spread over the town, uttering blasphemies, brandishing their swords, and giving themselves up to debauchery. Some evangelical

Christians fell under their blows, others were seized and thrown into dungeons ; the Romish rites were again set up, the reading of the Bible was prohibited, and the inhabitants were forbidden to speak of the gospel, even in their most private intercourse. An evangelical deacon had alone remained to administer spiritual consolation. On the entry of the troops, he took refuge in the house of a poor widow. He was denounced to the rulers who sent a soldier to seize him. The humble deacon, hearing the soldier, who was seeking his life, advancing with hasty steps, quietly waited for him, and when the door was hastily opened, he rose mildly to meet him, and embracing him cordially, said, 'I salute you, my brother ; here I am, plunge your sword into my bosom.' The fierce soldier, astonished, let his sword fall from his hand, and would not allow any harm to be done to the pious evangelist.

"Meanwhile the inquisition of the Low Countries, thirsting for blood, scoured the country, and searched everywhere for the young Augustins who had escaped from the persecution of Antwerp. Esch, Voes, and Lambert were at last discovered, chained and carried to Brussels. Egmondanus, Hochstratten, and some other inquisitors summoned them before them. Hochstratten asked, 'Do you retract your assertion that the priest has not power to pardon sins, and that pardon belongs to God only ?' He next enumerated all the evangelical doctrines, and summoned them to abjure them. 'We recant nothing,' exclaimed Esch and Voes, firmly ; 'we will not abjure the word of God ; we will sooner die for the faith.' *Inquisitor*.—'Do you confess that you have been led astray by Luther?' *The young Augustins*.—'Just as the apostles were led astray by Jesus Christ.' *The Inquisitors*.—'We pronounce you heretics, who deserve to be burnt alive ; and we hand you over to the secular arm,' " before whom we stand. "Lambert was silent ; he was afraid of death ; anguish and doubt agitated him. 'I ask four days,' said he, in a suppressed tone. As soon as this period was expired, the sacerdotal consecration was formally withdrawn from Esch and Voes, who were solemnly handed over to the council of the regent of the Low Countries.

The council handed them over hand-cuffed to the executioner. Hochstratten and three other inquisitors accompanied them even to the scaffold. When arrived near the scaffold, the young martyrs eyed it calmly; their constancy, their piety, their youth, drew tears even from the inquisitors. When they were bound, the confessors approached—‘We ask you once more, will you receive the Christian faith?’ The martyrs replied, ‘We believe in the Christian church, but not in your church.’ A half-hour passed away; it was hoped that the prospect of so frightful a death would intimidate the youths. But, the only persons who were calm amidst the agitated crowd which covered the public square, they sang psalms, occasionally interrupting this employment to say boldly, ‘We wish to die for the name of Jesus Christ.’ ‘Be converted, be converted,’ exclaimed the inquisitors, ‘or you will die in the name of the devil.’—‘No,’ replied the martyrs, ‘we will die as Christians for the truth of the gospel.’

“The pile was set on fire. While the flame ascended slowly, divine peace filled their hearts, and one of them even went so far as to say, ‘I feel as if reclining on a bed of roses.’ The solemn hour had come: death was at hand: the two martyrs, with loud voice, exclaimed, ‘Lord Jesus, son of David, have mercy on us!’ At length the flames reached them; but, before depriving them of life, burned the cords with which they were bound to the pile. One of them taking advantage of his liberty, threw himself on his knees, and thus worshipping his master, with clasped hands exclaimed—‘Lord Jesus, Son of David, have mercy on us.’ The fire surrounded their bodies. They sang the *Te Deum laudamus*. Shortly after, their voice was stifled by the flames, and all that remained of them was their ashes. The execution had lasted four hours. It was on the 1st July, 1523, that the first martyrs of the Reformation thus gave their lives for the gospel. All good men shuddered when they heard of it. The future excited great alarm. ‘Executions begin,’ said Erasmus. ‘At length,’ exclaimed Luther, ‘Jesus Christ gathers some fruit from our doctrine. He forms new martyrs.’

“But the joy which Luther felt at the fidelity of these two Christian youths was damped by the thought of Lambert. Agitated in his dungeon, and afraid of death, he was still more alarmed by his conscience, which reproached him with his cowardice, and urged him to confess the gospel. Shortly after, having got the better of his fears, he boldly proclaimed the truth, and died like his brethren.

“A rich harvest was produced by the blood of these martyrs. Brussels turned towards the gospel. ‘Wherever Aleander raises a scaffold,’ said Erasmus, ‘the effect is the same as if he sowed heretics.’ ‘Your bonds are my bonds!’ exclaimed Luther, ‘your dungeons my dungeons, and your scaffolds my scaffolds! We are all with you, and the Lord is at our head.’

“Adrian would doubtless have persisted in violent courses. The inefficacy of his attempts to arrest the Reformation, his orthodoxy, his zeal, his rigour, his conscience even would have made him a cruel persecutor. Providence put it out of his power. On the 14th September, 1523, he died, and the Romans, delighted at their deliverance from this rigid stranger, decked the gate of his physician with flowers, placing over them the inscription—‘To the saviour of his country.’

“Julius de Medici, cousin of Leo X., succeeded, under the name of Clement VII. From the day of his election, no more was heard of religious reform. The new pope, like many of his predecessors, thought only of upholding the privileges of the papacy, and employing them as the means of extending his power. Wishing to repair the faults of Adrian, Clement sent to Nuremberg a legate of his own temper, one of the ablest prelates of his court, the cardinal Campeggio, a man of great experience in business, and acquainted with nearly all the princes in Germany. The legate, who had been received with great pomp in the towns of Italy, soon became aware of the change that had taken place in the empire. On entering Augsburg, wishing, according to custom, to give his benediction to the people, he was received with laughter. He held it as pronounced, and entered Nuremberg incognito, without repairing to the

church of St. Sebald, where the clergy were in attendance. No priests went before him in sacerdotal garments, no crucifix was carried before him in state. *Everything announced to the papacy that its reign was drawing to a close.*

“The Diet had again been opened at Nuremberg in January, 1524. A storm threatened the national government, which had owed its existence to the firmness of Frederick. The Suabian league, the wealthiest towns of Germany, and, above all, Charles V. had vowed its destruction. It was accused of favouring the new heresy. Accordingly, it was resolved to renew the administration, without retaining one of the old members. Frederick, in vexation, immediately quitted Nuremberg. The festival of Easter being at hand, Osiander and the evangelical preachers redoubled their zeal. The former preached openly, that Antichrist entered Rome the very day Constantine the Great quitted it to take up his residence at Constantinople. The consecration of branches and several of the other ceremonies of the festival were omitted; four thousand persons received the supper in both kinds, and the queen of Denmark, the emperor’s sister, received it publicly in the same form in the castle. ‘Ah,’ exclaimed the archduke Ferdinand, in a transport of rage, ‘I wish you were not my sister.’ ‘The same womb carried us,’ replied the queen, ‘and I will sacrifice everything to please you, except the word of God.’

“Campeggio shuddered at beholding such hardihood, but affecting to despise the laughter of the people, and the sermons of the preachers, trusting to the support of the emperor and the pope, he reminded the Diet of the edict of Worms, and demanded that the Reformation should be suppressed by force. At these words, several of the princes and deputies expressed their indignation. ‘What,’ said they to Campeggio, ‘have become of the grievances presented to the pope by the Germanic nation?’ The legate, in accordance with his instructions, assumed an air of simple astonishment. ‘Three copies of that production,’ said he, ‘reached Rome, but we had no official communication of it, and I could not believe that a document so unbecoming could have emanated from your lordships.’ The Diet was indig-

nant at this reply. If this is the way in which their representations are received by the pope, they, too, in their turn, will know how to receive those which he may be pleased to address to them. 'The people,' said several deputies, 'are thirsting for the word of God, and to force it from them, as ordered by the edict of Worms, were to cause torrents of blood to be shed.'

"The Diet immediately proceeded to prepare an answer to the pope. Not having power to abolish the edict of Worms, they appended a clause which virtually annulled it. 'It is necessary,' said they, 'to conform to it *so far as possible*.' Several states had declared that it was impossible. At the same time evoking the importunate shade of the councils of Constance and Basle, the Diet demanded that an universal council of Christendom should be convened in Germany. The friends of the Reformation did not stop here. The national government having been overthrown, its place must be supplied by a national assembly to protect the interests of the people. In vain did Hannaart, who had been sent from Spain by Charles V., and all the partisans of Rome and the empire oppose this project. The majority of the Diet were inflexible. It was agreed that a Diet, a secular assembly, should meet at Spires, in November, to regulate all religious questions, and that the states should direct their theologians forthwith to prepare a list of the controverted points, to be submitted to this august assembly. The task was immediately commenced. Each province prepared its document. Never had Rome been threatened with a more violent explosion. Franconia, Brandenburg, Henneberg, Windsheim, Wertheim, Nuremberg, declared in evangelical terms against the seven sacraments, the abuses of the mass, the worship of saints, and the supremacy of the pope. 'Here,' said Luther, 'is money of a good stamp.' Not one of the questions generally agitated will be passed over in silence in this national council.

"At this news the pope could not restrain his anger. What! is it dared to establish a secular tribunal to decide on religious matters, and that contrary to his authority? If this monstrous resolution is executed, no doubt, Germany

is saved, but Rome is destroyed. A consistory was assembled in all haste; and from the agitated state of the senators, it might have been supposed that the Germans were marching on the capital. ‘The thing necessary,’ said Aleander, ‘is to pluck the electoral hat from the head of Frederick.’ ‘The kings of England and Spain,’ said another cardinal, ‘must threaten to break off all intercourse with the free towns.’ At last, the congregation decided that the only means of safety was to stir up heaven and earth, in order to prevent the meeting at Spires.

“The pope immediately wrote the emperor—‘If I am the first to face the storm, it is not because I am the only person threatened by it, but because I sit at the helm. The rights of the empire are attacked even more than the dignity of the court of Rome.’ While the pope sent this letter into Castille, he laboured to obtain allies in Germany. He had soon gained one of the most powerful houses of the empire, that of the dukes of Bavaria. The Bavarian bishops testified their alarm at the proposed encroachment of the secular power; and Eck set out for Rome to petition the pope to extend the influence of the princes. The pope granted everything, and even bestowed on the dukes a fifth of the ecclesiastical revenues of their country. Thus, at a time when the Reformation had not assumed any organised form, Roman Catholicism had recourse to powerful institutions for its support; and Catholic princes, sanctioned by the pope, laid hands on the revenues of the church long before the Reformation ventured to touch them. What, then, must be thought of the charges which the Roman Catholics have so often made in this respect? “Clement VII. could count upon the dukes of Bavaria in quelling the formidable assembly of Spires. Shortly after, the archduke Ferdinand, the archbishop of Salzburg, and several other princes were also gained. But this did not satisfy Campeggio. Germany must be divided into two camps.” (“They have power over waters to turn them to blood.”) “Germans must be set against Germans.

“During his stay at Stuttgard, the legate, in concert with Ferdinand, had sketched the plan of a league against

the Reformation. 'There is every thing to be feared,' said he, 'from an assembly, where the popular voice will be heard. The Diet of Spires may destroy Rome, and save Wittemberg. Let us close our ranks, and arrange our order of battle.' Ratisbon was fixed on as the place of rendezvous.

"Notwithstanding the jealousy between the houses of Bavaria and Austria, Campeggio succeeded, in the end of June, 1524, in bringing about a meeting in this town between the dukes of Bavaria and the archduke Ferdinand. The archbishop of Salzburg and the bishops of Trent and Ratisbon joined them. The bishops of Spires, Bamberg, Augsburg, Strasburg, Basle, Constance, Freisingen, Passau and Brixen were represented by deputies.

"The legate opened the meeting with an energetic picture of the dangers to which the Reformation exposed the princes and clergy. 'Let us extirpate heresy, and save the church,' exclaimed he. The princes and bishops engaged to execute the edicts of Worms and Nuremberg—to allow no change in public worship—to give no toleration within their states to any married ecclesiastic, to recall all the students belonging to their states who might be at Wittemberg, and to employ all the means in their power for the extirpation of heresy. In regard to difficult passages of Scripture, preachers were enjoined to confine themselves to the interpretation given by the fathers of the Latin church, viz., Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory. Not daring, in the presence of the Reformation, to re-establish the authority of the schoolmen, they contented themselves with laying the first foundations of Roman orthodoxy. On the other hand, not being able to shut their eyes to the scandals and corrupt manners of the priests, they agreed on a scheme of reform, in which they agreed to pay regard to those German grievances in which the court of Rome were least concerned. Priests were forbidden to engage in trade, to haunt taverns, frequent dances, and engage over the bottle in discussing articles of faith. Such was the result of the confederation of Ratisbon. While taking up arms against the Reformation, Rome conceded somewhat to it. In these resolutions may be observed the first influence of the Reformation of

the sixteenth century, is effecting an internal revival in Catholicism. We are here presented with another fact. At Ratisbon the Roman party formed the first league which destroyed German unity. It was in the camp of the pope that the signal for battle was given. The separatist conventicle of Ratisbon rent the nation for ever into two parties.

“ Meanwhile the projects of Campeggio did not at first succeed so well as had been imagined. Few princes responded to the call. The most decided opponents of Luther, duke George of Saxony, the elector Joachim of Brandenburg, the ecclesiastical electors, and the imperial towns took no part in it. The feeling was, that the pope’s legate was forming in Germany a Roman party against the nation itself. The popular sympathies counterbalanced the religious antipathies, and *the Reformation of Ratisbon* soon became the object of popular derision.

“ But the first step was taken ; the example was given. It was thought that afterwards there would be little difficulty in strengthening and extending the Roman league. Those who still hesitated would find it impossible to avoid being hurried along by the progress of events. To the legate Campeggio belongs the honour of having discovered the mine which brought the Germanic liberties within a finger’s-breadth of destruction. Thenceforth Luther’s cause ceased to be entirely of a religious nature; the dispute of the monk of Wittemberg held a place in the politics of Europe. Luther is going to be eclipsed, and Charles V., the pope, and the princes will be the principal characters on the theatre where the great drama of the sixteenth century is to be performed.”

Whilst the historian here recognises and announces the Apocalyptic characters as the principal dramatic actors of the period, it will be observed how opposite are the relations respectively existing between Charles V. and the pope on one hand, and between that emperor and the Christian princes on the other hand. The ally of the pope and the enemy of the Christian princes at this period of his history, Charles V., is exhibited in the prophecy as the enemy of the

former, and the ally of the latter; that is, unless the Turks are found to have executed the predicted punishment on the witnesses without his aid.

Having arrived at the change in the character of the Reformation just set forth by D'Aubigné, it will not be necessary for us to follow its history so closely through its political, as we have hitherto done through its religious, stages; so that, with the exception of some further claims to their right to the distinctions attached in the prophecy to the candlesticks and olive trees, emphatically set forth by the actions of the Romish church and priests at this time, and which must not in justice be omitted, a few extracts will suffice to continue our history up to the consummation of the events more particularly delineated in the Apocalyptic vision.

The relations between the pope and Charles V., and between the princes and the emperor, are thus mentioned by the historian. "The assembly at Spires, however, was still in perspective. Rome used every effort to prevent it. 'What,' said the deputies of the pope, not only to Charles V., but to his ally Henry VIII., and the princes of Christendom, 'What, do those proud Germans pretend to decide questions of faith in a national assembly? Apparently kings, the imperial majesty, all Christendom, the whole world will be obliged to stoop to their decrees.' The moment was well chosen for influencing the emperor. The war between this prince and Francis I. was at its height. Pescara and the constable de Bourbon had quitted Italy in May, and, having entered France, laid siege to Marseilles. The pope, who did not regard this attack with friendly eye, was able to make a powerful diversion in the rear of the imperial army. Charles, who must have been afraid to displease him, did not hesitate, but at once sacrificed the independence of the emperor for the favour of Rome and the success of his struggle with France. On the 15th July, Charles, at Burgos in Castille, issued an edict in which, in an imperious and impassioned tone, he declared, 'that it belonged to the pope alone to assemble a council—to the emperor alone to ask it; that the meeting fixed to take place at Spires

could not and would not be tolerated; that it was strange in the German nation to undertake a work which all the other nations of the world, even with the pope, would not be entitled to do; that the proper course was to hasten the execution of the decree of Worms against the new Mahomet.'

"Thus, from Spain and Italy proceeded the stroke which arrested the progress of the gospel in Germany. This did not satisfy Charles. He broke entirely 'with the troublesome and criminal representative of evangelical and national ideas.' Frederick was able to suppress the indignation he felt at the emperor's conduct, but duke John keenly expressed what he felt at the blow thus inflicted.

"Thus the two hostile camps which were long to rend the empire, became more distinctly marked."

The claims of the Romish church and priests to their Apocalyptic distinctions are further satisfied by the historian. He says, "The Romish party did not stop here. The alliance of Ratisbon was not to be a mere form. It was necessary that it should be sealed with blood. Ferdinand and Campeggio went down the Danube together from Ratisbon to Vienna, and, during the voyage, gave to each other promises of cruelty. Persecution immediately commenced in the Austrian states.

"A citizen of Venice, named Gaspard Tauber, had circulated the works of Luther, and had himself written against the invocation of saints, purgatory, and transubstantiation. Being thrown into prison, he was summoned by the judges, as well theologians as lawyers, to retract his errors. It was thought that he was willing to do so, and everything was prepared to give the people of Vienna the solemn spectacle. On the birthday of Mary, two desks were erected in the cemetery of St. Stephen, the one for the leader of the choir, who was about to chant in celebration of the heretic's repentance, and the other for Tauber himself. The form of recantation was put into his hand; the people, the singers, and the priests were waiting in silence. Whether Tauber had not given any promise, or whether, at the moment of abjuration, his faith suddenly revived with new force, he exclaimed, 'I am not convinced, and I appeal to the holy Roman

empire.' The ecclesiastics, the choir, and the people were amazed. But Tauber continued to demand death sooner than deny the gospel. He was beheaded, and his body was burnt. His courage made a lasting impression on the citizens of Vienna.

"At Bude, in Hungary, an evangelical bookseller, named John, had circulated the New Testament and Luther's writings throughout the country. He was tied to a stake, then all his books were gradually piled around him, and set on fire. John displayed unshaken courage, exclaiming from the midst of the flames, that he was happy in suffering for the Lord. 'Blood succeeds blood,' exclaimed Luther, on hearing of his death; 'but this noble blood which Rome is pleased to shed, will at length suffocate the pope with all his kingdoms and all his kings.'

"Fanaticism became more and more inflamed; evangelical ministers were driven from their churches; magistrates were banished; sometimes dreadful executions took place. In Wurtemberg, an inquisitor, named Reichler, caused the Lutherans, and especially their preachers, to be hung on trees. Barbarians were seen coolly nailing ministers to the stake by the tongue, so that the poor sufferers, in struggling or tearing themselves from the wood to which they were fastened, to regain their liberty, were horribly mutilated, and thus were made the instruments of depriving themselves of that gift of speech, which they had long employed in preaching the gospel.

"The same persecutions were carried on in the other states of the Catholic League. An evangelical minister of Salzburg was on the way to prison, where he would have ended his days. While the officers, who had him in charge, were drinking in an inn on the road, two peasants, moved with compassion, eluded their vigilance, and delivered the pastor. The wrath of the archbishop was inflamed against the poor youths; and, without any legal process, he gave orders that they should be beheaded. They were led away secretly at an early hour, beyond the town. When they arrived at the spot where they were to suffer, the executioner himself hesitated—'for,' said he, 'they have not been tried.' 'Do

what I command you,' sharply replied the commissary of the archbishop, 'and leave the responsibility to the prince.' And the heads of the young deliverers immediately fell under the sword.

"Persecution raged especially in the states of the dukes of Bavaria; the priests were deposed, and the nobles banished from their castles; informers were employed over the whole country; distrust and terror reigned in all hearts; there was no safety anywhere—not even in the bosom of a friend. In vain was it to preach the gospel only in secret. The dukes persecuted it in the shade, in concealment, under the roofs of houses, in secret retreats, in the fields. 'The cross and persecution,' said Luther, 'reign in Bavaria; these ferocious beasts carry it with fury.'

"Even the north of Germany was not sheltered from these cruelties. Bogislas, duke of Pomerania, having died, his son, who had been brought up at the court of duke George, persecuted the gospel. Suaren and Knipstraw were obliged to save themselves by flight.

"But it was in Holstein that one of the strongest instances of fanaticism was given. Henry of Zuphten, who had escaped, as we have seen, from the convent of Antwerp, was preaching the gospel at Bremen: Nicholas Boye, pastor at Mehldorf, in the Dittmarches, and several pious persons in that district having invited him to preach the gospel to them, he complied. Forthwith, the prior of the Dominican and the vicar of the official of Hamburg consulted together. 'If he preaches, and the people listen to him,' said they, 'all is lost!' The prior, after a wakeful night, got up early in the morning, and proceeded to the wild and sterile moor, where the forty-eight regents of the country usually assembled. 'The monk of Bremen is arrived,' said he to them, 'to ruin all the Dittmarches.' These forty-eight simple and ignorant men, who were assured that they would acquire great renown by ridding the world of the heretical monk, resolved to put him to death without either having seen or heard him. It was Saturday, and the prior, wishing to prevent Henry from preaching on Sunday, arrived at midnight at the house of pastor Boye, with the letter of the

forty-eight regents. 'If it is God's will that I die in the Dittmarches,' said Henry of Zuphten, 'heaven is as near there as anywhere else. I shall preach!' He mounted the pulpit and preached powerfully. The hearers, touched and inflamed by his eloquence, had scarcely left the church, when the prior put into their hands a letter from the forty-eight regents, forbidding them to allow the monk to preach. They immediately sent their representatives to the heath, and, after long debate, the Dittmarches agreed that, considering their complete ignorance of the matter, they would wait until Easter. But the enraged prior waited on some of the regents, and anew inflamed their zeal. 'We will write him,' said they. 'Beware of doing so,' replied the prior; 'if he begins to speak, nothing can be done to him. He must be seized during the night, and burnt before he can open his mouth.' It was so resolved. The day after the feast of the conception, after it was night, the *Ave Maria* was tolled. At this signal, all the peasants of the neighbouring villages assembled to the number of five hundred, and their leaders having caused five hogsheads of Hamburg beer to be pierced, in this way inspired them with great courage. Midnight struck as they reached Mehlendorf. The peasants were armed; the monks carried torches; the whole proceeded, without order, uttering furious cries. On arriving at the village, they kept a profound silence lest Henry should escape. The doors of the curacy were suddenly burst open, and the drunken peasants rushed in, striking at everything that came in their way. They threw down vases, kettles, goblets, clothes, snatched up whatever gold or silver they could find, and pouncing on the poor pastor, struck him, crying, 'Kill him! kill him!' They then threw him into the mire. But Henry was their object. They pulled him from his bed, bound his hands behind his back, and dragged him after them. 'What brought you here?' they asked. Henry having answered mildly, they exclaimed, 'Away! Away! if we listen to him, we will become heretic, like himself.' He had been hurried naked over the ice and snow, his feet were bleeding, and he begged they would put him on horseback. 'Good sooth,' replied they, in

derision, 'we are going to furnish heretics with horses! Get along.' And they continued to drag him till they reached the heath. The baillie pronounced his condemnation. Then one of the furious men who had brought him, struck him over the head with a sword; another struck him with a club. Next a poor monk was brought to receive his confession. 'Brother,' said Henry to him, 'did I ever do you any harm?' 'No,' replied the monk. 'Then I have nothing to confess to you.' The monk withdrew in confusion. Many ineffectual attempts were made to light the pile. In this way the martyr stood for two hours before these furious peasants—calm and with his eyes raised towards heaven. As they were binding him to throw him on the pile, he began to make confession of his faith. 'Burn first,' said a peasant, striking him on the mouth with his fist, 'and you will speak after.' He was thrown down, but fell on the side of the pile. John Holme, seizing a club, struck him on the breast, and he lay stretched out dead on the burning faggots. Such is the true history of the sufferings of the holy martyr, Henry of Zuphten."

Not only in Germany, but in Switzerland and France, the same evidences of identity are apparent. In his history of the Reformation in Switzerland, D'Aubigné, referring to the same period, says:—"The decision of the Diet of Baden, held 16th May, 1526, produced a great impression in Switzerland. It was said at Zurich, 'Do not the five cantons most devoted to the pope rule in Baden? Have they not already declared the doctrine of Zuinglius heretical, and employed sword and fire against it? Has not Zuinglius been burned in effigy at Lucerne, after being subject to all kinds of insult? Have not his writings been given to the flames at Friburg? Is not his death everywhere longed for? Have not the cantons which exercise sovereign rights in Baden declared that, should Zuinglius set foot on any part of their territory, they would apprehend him? Has not Uberlingen, one of their leaders, said, that his only wish in the world was to hang Zuinglius, were he himself to be the executioner on the last day of his life? And has not Dr. Eck been crying for years that heretics must be attacked

with fire and sword? What then will be the issue, but just the death of the Reformer.'

"Meanwhile fanaticism bestirred herself, and made victims. A consistory condemned to the flame, as a heretic, an evangelical minister named John Hügler, pastor of Lindau, who walked to execution singing the *Te Deum*. At the same time, Peter Spengler, another minister, was drowned at Friburg by order of the bishop of Constance."

In his history of the Reformation in France, still referring to the same period, D'Aubigné says:—"These irreconcilable enemies of the gospel flattered themselves that they should easily obtain from the public terror" (Francis I. had been taken prisoner at Pavia) "the victims who had hitherto been refused them. They immediately set every engine at work. They threw fire and flames at their opponents, and overwhelmed them with the most scurrilous abuse. All means were good. 'Heresy,' they said, 'has raised its head in the midst of us; and the king, by not causing scaffolds to be erected for it, has brought down on the kingdom the wrath of heaven.' At the same time, the pulpits resounded with complaints, menaces, and maledictions; prompt and exemplary punishment was demanded. Force and constraint must be employed against the *person* even of these false teachers. Those who resist the light must be subdued to it by punishment and terror.

"The pope, the regent, the doctors of the Sorbonne, the parliament, the chancellor, the ignorant and fanatical portion of the nation, all together and at once, conspired the ruin of the gospel and the death of its confessors. Commissioners were appointed, his approval of whom his holiness was pleased to signify by a brief, dated 20th May, 1525. Following upon this, all who were declared Lutherans by the bishops or judges of the church deputed to this effect were given over to the secular arm, that is to say, to the parliament, which therefore condemned them *to be burnt alive*."

The historian then gives a long series of cruel persecutions and executions by torture, fire, and sword, equalling if not surpassing in barbarity those instances already before us,

but as the identity of the Apocalyptic candlesticks and olive trees with the Romish church and priests is now fully established, the peculiar circumstances of those persecutions and executions may be omitted as unnecessary to be here narrated. Neither need we, as before mentioned, follow the historian circumstantially through the remainder of his tenth book, the subjects of which, although fraught with much historic interest and accessory to the predicted consummation, do not present features of sufficiently illustrative interest to detain us further than to make a few extracts, from gratifying the natural desire to learn at once the events illustrating the prophecy relating to the action of “the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit.”

The principal subjects which we propose cursorily to notice are thus alluded to by Dr. Mosheim: “While the efforts of Luther toward the Reformation of the church were daily crowned with growing success, and almost all the nations seemed disposed to open their eyes upon the light, two unhappy occurrences, one of a foreign and the other of a domestic nature, contributed greatly to retard the progress of this salutary and glorious work. The domestic, or internal incident was a controversy concerning the manner in which the body and blood of Christ were present in the eucharist, that arose among those whom the Roman pontiff had publicly excluded from the communion of the church, and unhappily produced among the friends of the good cause the most deplorable animosities and divisions. Luther and his followers, though they had rejected the monstrous doctrine of the church of Rome with respect to the *transubstantiation*, or change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, were nevertheless of opinion, that the partakers of the Lord’s supper received, along with the bread and wine, the real body and blood of Christ. This, in their judgment, was a mystery which they did not pretend to explain. Carlostadt, who was Luther’s colleague, understood the matter quite otherwise, and his doctrine, which was afterwards illustrated and confirmed by Zwingle with much more ingenuity than he had proposed it, amounted to this: ‘That the body and blood of Christ were not really present

in the eucharist; and that the bread and wine were no more than external signs or symbols, designed to excite in the minds of Christians the remembrance of the sufferings and death of the divine Saviour, and of the benefits which arise from it.' This opinion was embraced by all the friends of the Reformation in Switzerland, and by a considerable number of its votaries in Germany. On the other hand, Luther maintained his doctrine, in relation to this point, with the utmost obstinacy; and hence arose, in the year 1524, a tedious and vehement controversy, which, notwithstanding the zealous endeavours that were used to reconcile the contending parties, terminated at length in a fatal division between those who had embarked together in the sacred cause of religion and liberty.

"To these intestine divisions were added the horrors of a civil war, which was the fatal effect of oppression on the one hand, and of enthusiasm on the other; and by its unhappy consequences was prejudicial to the cause and progress of the Reformation. In the year 1525, a prodigious multitude of seditious fanatics arose, like a whirlwind, all of a sudden, in different parts of Germany, took arms, united their forces, waged war against the laws, the magistrates, and the empire in general, laid waste the country with fire and sword, and exhibited daily the most horrid spectacles of unrelenting barbarity. The greatest part of this furious and formidable mob was composed of peasants and vassals, who groaned under heavy burdens, and declared they were no longer able to bear the despotic severity of their chiefs; and hence this sedition was called the *Rustic War*, or the war of the peasants. At the first breaking out of this war, it seemed only to have been kindled by civil and political views. Religion seemed to be out of the question; at least it was not the object of deliberation or debate. But no sooner had the enthusiast, Munzer, put himself at the head of this outrageous rabble, than the face of things changed entirely, and by the instigation of this man, who had deceived numbers before this time by his pretended visions and inspirations, the civil commotions in Saxony and Thuringia were soon directed towards a new object, and were turned into a religious war.

The sentiments, however, of this dissolute and seditious multitude were greatly divided, and their demands were very different. One part of them pleaded exemption from all laws, a licentious immunity from all sort of government; another, less outrageous and extravagant, confined their demands to the diminution of the taxes they were forced to pay, and of the burdens under which they groaned; another insisted upon a new form of religious doctrine, government, and worship, upon the establishment of a pure and unspotted church, and to add weight to this demand, pretended that it was suggested by the Holy Ghost, with which they were divinely and miraculously inspired; while a very conspicuous part of this furious rabble were without any distinct view, or any fixed purpose at all, but, infected with the contagious spirit of sedition, and exasperated by the severity of their magistrates and rulers, went on headlong without reflection or foresight into every act of violence and cruelty which rebellion and enthusiasm could suggest. So that, if it cannot be denied that many of these rioters had perversely misunderstood the doctrines of Luther concerning Christian liberty, and took occasion from thence of committing the disorders that rendered them so justly odious, yet, on the other hand, it would be a most absurd instance of partiality and injustice to charge that doctrine with the blame of those extravagant outrages that arose only from the manifest abuse of it. Luther himself, too, indeed sufficiently defended both his principles and his cause against any such imputations by the books he wrote against this turbulent sect, and by the advice he addressed to the princes of the empire to take arms against them. And accordingly, in the year 1525, this odious faction was defeated and destroyed in a pitched battle, fought at Mulhausen; and Munzer, their ringleader, taken and put to death."

D'Aubigné introduces his more detailed account of the first subject by saying:—

"The Reformation, while the Romish party were everywhere drawing the sword against it, was undergoing new developments. It is not at Zurich or Geneva, but at Wittenberg, the centre of the Lutheran revival, that we must

trace the beginnings of that reformed church, of which Calvin has become the greatest doctor. These two great families slept in the same cradle. The union ought also to have crowned their age. But the question of the Supper having been once raised, Luther violently rejected the reformed element, and found himself and his church in an exclusive Lutheranism. The chagrin which he felt at this rival doctrine deprived him somewhat of the good humour which was natural to him, and gave him a spirit of distrust, an habitual dissatisfaction and irritation, which he had not shown previously. It was between two old friends, between Carlstadt and Luther, that this dispute arose."

The historian terminates his account of the dispute by saying:—"Thus the Reformation, attacked by the pope, attacked by the emperor, attacked by the princes, began also to tear itself to pieces. It appeared on the point of sinking under so many disasters, and certainly must have sunk if it had only been a work of man. But, when on the point of sinking, it arose with new energy. The Catholic league of Ratisbon and the persecutions which followed it, produced a powerful reaction in the population of Germany. The Germans were not disposed to allow themselves to be deprived of that word of God which had at length been restored to them. To the orders of Charles V., to the bulls of the pope, to the menaces and scaffolds of Ferdinand and the other Catholic princes, their reply was, 'We shall keep it.' ("And I took the little book out of the angel's hand, and ate it up.")

"Scarcely had the leaguers left Ratisbon, when the deputies of the towns, whose bishops had taken part in this alliance, feeling surprised and indignant, met at Spire, and resolved that their preachers should, in spite of the bishops, preach the gospel—and the gospel alone—conformably to the doctrine of the prophets and apostles. They next proposed to present a firm and unanimous remonstrance to the national assembly. Towards the end of the year, the deputies of these towns and several of the nobles met at Ulm, and took an oath of mutual defence, in the event of attack. Thus, to the camp formed by Austria, Bavaria, and

the bishops, the free towns immediately opposed another, which raised the standard of the gospel and national freedom.

“ While the free towns thus took the advanced posts of the Reformation, several princes were gained to the cause. Philip of Hesse, who had three years before visited Luther at Worms, embraced the gospel with the energy of his character. ‘ Sooner,’ exclaimed he, ‘ abandon my body, my life, my states, and my subjects, than the word of God.’ He issued an ordinance, in which, opposing the league of Ratisbon, he commanded that the gospel should be preached in all its purity. Other princes took a similar direction. The elector palatine refused to lend himself to any persecution. The duke of Luneburg began to reform his states, and the king of Denmark ordered that in Schleswig and Holstein every man should be free to worship God according to his conscience.

“ The Reformation made a still more important conquest. A prince, whose subsequent conversion was attended with the most important effects, began at this time to turn away from Rome. One day, towards the end of June, Luther’s chamber was entered by the grand master of the Teutonic order, Albert, margrave of Brandenburg. The chief of the chevalier monks of Germany, who was then in possession of Prussia, had been convinced by the sermons of Osiander and by reading the gospel, that his condition of monk was contrary to the word of God. The Saxon counsellor, Planitz, asked him to visit the Reformer. ‘ What think you of the rule of my order ?’ asked the prince of Luther. ‘ Implore the help of God,’ said he to the grand master ; ‘ reject the absurd and incongruous rule of your order ; put an end to this abominable and truly hermaphrodite supremacy, which is neither religious nor secular. Shun false and seek true chastity—marry, and in place of this nameless monster found a lawful empire.’ These words pointed out distinctly to the grand master a situation of which he had till then only had an imperfect glimpse. A smile lighted up his features, but he had too much prudence to declare himself ; he held his peace. Melancthon, who was present, spoke in similar terms as Luther, and the prince departed for his

states, leaving the Reformers in the belief that the seed which they had sown in his heart would one day bear fruit.

“ Thus Charles V. and the pope had opposed the national assembly of Spires from a fear that the word of God might gain all who attended it ; but the word of God could not be bound. It was forbidden to be preached in one of the halls of a town in the Low Palatinate. It had its revenge by diffusing itself throughout all the provinces. It aroused the people, enlightened princes, and, throughout the empire, displayed that divine power, of which neither bulls nor ordinances could ever deprive it.

“ While the people and their rulers were thus pressing toward the light, the Reformers were striving to produce a general revival, to penetrate the whole mass with the principles of Christianity.” In furtherance of the execution of the Apocalyptic instruction, “ Rise, and measure the temple of God,” “ the form of worship first engaged their attention. The time fixed by the Reformer on his return from the Wartburg had arrived. ‘ Now,’ said he, ‘ that men’s hearts have been strengthened by divine grace, the scandals which polluted the Lord’s kingdom must be made to disappear, and something must be attempted in the name of Jesus.’ He demanded that the communion should be dispensed in both kinds, that everything should be retrenched from the Supper which tended to convert it into a sacrifice, that Christian assemblies should never meet without hearing the word preached, that the faithful, or at least priests and students, should meet every morning at four or five o’clock to read the Old and every evening at five or six to read the New Testaments, that on Sunday the whole church should assemble, morning and afternoon, and that the leading object in worship should be the preaching of the word.

“ In particular, the church of All Saints, at Wittemberg, aroused his indignation. There, 9,901 masses were annually celebrated, and 35,570 pounds of wax burnt. So says Seckendorf. Luther called it a ‘ sacrilegious Tophet.’ ‘ There are,’ said he, ‘ only three or four lazy bellies who still worship this shameful mammon, and did I not restrain the people, this house of All Saints, or rather all devils, would

long ago have made a noise in the world, the like of which was never heard.' The struggle commenced around this church. It was like one of those ancient sanctuaries of Paganism in Egypt, Gaul, and Germany, which behoved to fall, in order that Christianity might be established. Luther, desiring that the mass should be abolished in this cathedral, had on the 1st March, 1523, addressed a first petition on the subject to the chapter, and on the 11th July addressed a second. The canons, in reply, urged the orders of the Elector. The Elector, who felt his end drawing near, was repugnant to new reforms. But new urgency was joined to that of Luther. Jonas, provost of the cathedral, thus addressed the Elector:—'It is time to act. A manifestation of the gospel, so bright as that we now have, usually lasts no longer than a ray of the sun. Let us, therefore, make haste.' This letter of Jonas's not having changed the Elector's views, Luther lost patience. He thought the moment to give the fatal blow had arrived, and addressed a threatening letter to the chapter. 'I beg you amicably, and solicit you seriously, to put an end to all this sectarian worship. If you refuse, you shall, by God's help, receive the recompense you deserve. I say this for your guidance; and I demand a distinct and immediate answer—yes or no—before next Sunday, that I may know how to act. God grant you grace to follow his light. Martin Luther, preacher at Wittemberg, 8th December, 1524.' At the same time, the rector, two burgomasters, and ten counsellors repaired to the dean, and solicited him in the name of the university, the council, and the community of Wittemberg, 'to abolish the great and horrible impiety committed against the divine Majesty in the mass.' The chapter was obliged to surrender. It declared that, enlightened by the holy word of God, it acknowledged the abuses to which its attention had been directed, and published a new order of service, which began to be observed on Christmas, 1524.

"Thus fell the mass in this famous sanctuary, where it had so long withstood the reiterated assaults of the Reformers. The Elector Frederick, drawing near his end, was not able, notwithstanding all his efforts, to prevent this great act of reformation. He saw the divine will in it, and

yielded. The fall of the Roman observances in the church of All Saints hastened their end in many of the churches of Christendom. There was everywhere the same resistance, but there was also the same victory. In vain did priests, and in many places even princes, attempt to throw obstacles in the way; they failed."

The historian then notices the impulse given to the progress of literature and the arts, at this time, by the Reformation, closing his remarks with:—"Thus there was a universal progress in literature and the arts, in spirituality of worship, in the souls of nations and their rulers. But this magnificent harmony, which the gospel everywhere produced in the days of its revival, was about to be disturbed. A cloud, in one moment, spread over Germany, and a lovely day was succeeded by a dismal night." He then gives a detailed account of "The war of the peasants," Mosheim's notice of which having been already given, D'Aubigné's concluding testimony need only here be added. He says:—"The remains of the revolt were extinguished in blood. Duke George, in particular, displayed great severity. In the states of the Elector there was neither punishment nor execution. The word of God, preached in all its purity, had shown its efficacy in restraining the tumultuous passions of the people. In fact, Luther had never ceased to combat the rebellion, *which he regarded as the forerunner of the universal judgment*. He had spared nothing—instruction, entreaty, not even irony. At the end of the articles prepared by the rebels at Erfurth, he had added as a supplementary article: '*Item, the following article has been omitted: Henceforth the honourable council shall have no power; it shall have nought to do but sit like an idol or a log; the community will chew all its meat for it, and the council will govern, bound hand and foot. Henceforth, the waggon will go before the horses, the horses hold the reins, and all go on admirably, conformably to the fine project which these articles expound.*' Luther did not content himself with writing. While the tumult was at its height, he left Wittemberg, and travelled over several of the districts where the greatest agitation reigned. He preached

and laboured to soften down men's spirits, and his hand, which God rendered powerful, directed, calmed, and brought back to their old channel those furious torrents which had burst their banks. The teachers of the Reformation everywhere exerted the same influence. Such was the part acted by the Reformers in the midst of the revolt. They combated it with all their might by the sword of the word, and energetically maintained the principles which alone are capable, at all times, of preserving order and obedience among the nations. Accordingly, Luther maintained that if the power of sound doctrine had not arrested the fury of the people, the revolt would have caused much greater ravages, and completely overthrown both church and state. There is every reason to believe that this dismal foreboding would have been realised.

“ If the Reformers thus combated sedition, it was not without receiving severe shocks from it. On the part of the princes, it was incessantly repeated that Luther and his doctrine were the cause of the revolt, and however absurd this idea was, the Reformer could not see it so generally received without deep grief. On the part of the people, Munzer and all the leaders of the sedition represented Luther as a vile hypocrite, a flatterer of the great; and these calumnies were readily credited. The violent terms in which Luther denounced the rebels had offended even moderate men. The friends of Rome triumphed; all were against him, and the wrath of his age lay as a burden upon him. But what tore his soul most of all was to see the work of heaven thus dragged through the mire, and placed in the same rank with the most fanatical projects. Still, amidst all this bitterness of feeling, he preserved his faith. ‘ He,’ said he, ‘ who enabled me to trample the enemy under foot when he rose up against me like a cruel dragon or a raging lion, will not permit this enemy to crush me now that he appears with the perfidious aspect of the serpent. I behold these misfortunes, and I lament them. I have often asked myself if it would not be better to allow the papacy quietly to take its own course, rather than see so many disturbances and divisions break out in the world. But no!

Far better rescue some from the devil's throat than leave them all under his murderous fangs.'

"It was at this period that a revolution in Luther's mind, which had begun in the Wartburg, was completed. The internal life no longer sufficed him; the church and her institutions assumed a high importance in his eyes. The boldness with which he had demolished, stopped at the sight of more radical demolition; he felt that it was necessary to preserve, guide, build up; and from amidst the bloody ruins with which the wars of the peasants covered Germany, the edifice of the new church began slowly to arise.

"These disturbances left a deep and lasting emotion. The population was struck with terror. The masses who had sought in the Reformation only political liberty, withdrew spontaneously when they saw that spiritual liberty alone was offered them. The opposition of Luther to the peasants was equivalent to a renunciation of the ephemeral favour of the people. An apparent calm was soon established, and the turmoil of enthusiasm and sedition was, throughout Germany, succeeded by a silence which terror inspired.

"Thus the popular passions, the revolutionary cause, the prosecution of a radical equality failed in the empire, but the Reformation did not fail. These two movements, which many confound, are clearly distinguished by their different results. Revolt came from beneath, the Reformation from above. A few cavalry and cannon were sufficient to suppress the former, but the latter ceased not to rise, strengthen, and increase in spite of the incessantly renewed attacks of the empire and the church.

"Still, however, the cause of the Reformation seemed at first doomed to perish in the abyss which engulfed the popular liberties. A sad event which now occurred, seemed to hasten its end. At the moment when the princes were marching against Munzer, ten days before his defeat, the old Elector of Saxony was descending into the tomb. Feeling death rapidly approaching, he destroyed the testament which he had written several years before, and in which he recommended his soul to the 'Mother of God,' and dictated

another, in which he cast himself upon the sacred merits of Jesus Christ alone, ‘for the forgiveness of his sins,’ and declared his firm conviction that ‘he was ransomed by the precious blood of his beloved Saviour.’ After this, he said, ‘I can do no more;’ and at five in the evening gently fell asleep. ‘He was a child of peace,’ exclaimed his physician, ‘and he has departed in peace.’

“Now that the vigorous oak, under whose shelter the Reformation had gradually grown up, was hewn down; now that the enemies of the gospel were everywhere displaying new hatred and strength, while its partisans were obliged to hide themselves or be silent, nothing seemed able to defend it against the sword of its furious persecutors. The confederates at Ratisbon who had vanquished the peasants in the south and west of the empire, everywhere struck at the Reformation, as well as the revolt. At Wurtzburg and Bamberg, several of the most peaceable citizens, some even who had opposed the peasants, were put to death. ‘No matter,’ it was openly said, ‘they were the adherents of the gospel.’ This was enough to make them lose their heads.

“Duke George hoped to make the landgrave and duke John share in his love and his hatred. ‘See,’ said he to them, after the defeat of the peasants, and showing them the field of battle, ‘see the mischiefs engendered by Luther.’ John and Philip seemed to give some hope of adopting his views. ‘Duke George,’ said the Reformer, ‘imagines he is to triumph now that Frederick is dead; but Christ reigns in the midst of his enemies; in vain do they gnash their teeth; their desire will perish.’

“George lost no time in forming a confederation, similar to that of Ratisbon, in the north of Germany. The Electors of Mentz and Brandenburg, dukes Henry and Eric of Brunswick, and duke George met at Dessau, and there, in July, concluded a Roman alliance. George urged the new elector, and the landgrave, his son-in-law, to give in their adherence to it. Then, as if to announce what were to be its results, he beheaded two citizens of Leipsic, in whose house some of the Reformer’s writings had been found.

“At the same time, a letter of Charles V., dated Toledo,

arrived in Germany, appointing a new Diet to be held at Augsburg. Charles wished to give a new constitution to the empire, that would enable him to dispose, at pleasure, of the forces of Germany. The religious divisions furnished him with the means. He had only to let loose the Catholics on the evangelicals. When they had mutually enfeebled each other, he would obtain an easy triumph over both. Down with the Lutherans ! was the emperor's watchword."

Down with the witnesses ! being the watchword put into his mouth by the prophecy, it will be seen how opposed his part still is to that Apocalyptically assigned to him. The historian continues :—

"Thus, there was a kind of universal league against the Reformation. Never had Luther been so oppressed with fears. The remains of Munzer's sect had sworn that they would have his life, and his only protector was no more. Duke George, he was informed, intended to apprehend him even at Wittemberg. The princes, who might have been able to defend him, hung down their heads, and seemed to have forsaken the gospel. The university, already thinned by disturbances, was, it was said, to be suppressed by the new elector. Charles, victorious at Pavia, was assembling a new Diet, with a view of giving the finishing blow to the Reformation. What dangers, then, must he not have foreseen. How shall he resist so many enemies ? Amidst these agitations, in presence of those many perils, beside the corpse of Frederick almost before it was cold, and the dead bodies of the peasants who strewed the plains of Germany, Luther married.

"In the monastery of Nimptsch, near Grimma, there were, in 1523, nine nuns, who diligently read the word of God and had perceived the contrast between the Christian life and the life of the cloister. The first proceeding of these young persons," (their names are enumerated by the historian), "after they had withdrawn from the superstitions of the monastery, was to write their parents. 'The salvation of our souls,' they said, 'does not allow us any longer to continue in a cloister.' The parents harshly repulsed the desire of their daughters. The poor nuns knew not what to

do. How were they to leave the monastery? They trembled at the thought of so desperate a step. At last, the disgust which the papal worship produced, carried the day. They promised not to quit each other, but to repair, in a body, to some respectable place, decently and in order. Leonard Koppe and Wolff Tomitzch, two worthy and pious citizens of Torgau, offered their assistance. They accepted it, as sent by God himself, and left the convent of Nimptsch without meeting with any opposition, as if the hand of the Lord had opened the gates for them. Koppe and Tomitzch received them in their car; and on the 7th April, 1523, the nine nuns, astonished at their own hardihood, stopped, with emotion, before the gate of the old Augustin convent, where Luther was residing. ‘It is not I who have done it,’ said Luther on receiving them, ‘but would to God I could thus save all captive consciences, and empty all cloisters.’ Several persons made an offer to the doctor to receive the nuns into their houses, and Catherine Bora was taken into the family of the burgomaster of Wittemberg.

“If, at that time, Luther had any thought of preparing for some solemn event, it was to mount the scaffold, not approach the hymeneal altar. Many months later, his answer to those who spoke to him of marriage was, ‘God can change my heart as he pleases; but now, at least, I have no thought whatever of taking a wife; not that I do not feel some inclination for the married state; I am neither wood nor stone; but I am in daily expectation of the death and punishment due to a heretic.’

“Still everything in the church continued to advance. The monastic life, an invention of man, was everywhere succeeded by the habits of domestic life. On Sunday, 9th October, Luther laid aside his Augustin frock, put on the dress of a secular priest, and then made his appearance in the church, where the change produced the greatest joy. Christendom, which had renewed its youth, gave a glad welcome to all which announced that old things were passed away.


“Shortly after, the last monk quitted the convent, but Luther still remained. An eloquent solitude, one which

attested the triumphs of the word of God! The convent had ceased to exist. Towards the end of 1524, Luther sent the keys of the monastery to the Elector, stating that he would see where God might be pleased to give him food. The Elector gave the convent to the university, and asked Luther to continue to reside in it. The abode of the monks was soon to become the hearth of a Christian family. Luther whose heart was so well fitted to relish the sweets of domestic life, honoured and loved the marriage state; it is even probable that he had an attachment to Catherine Bora. His old father, who had been so much grieved at his embracing the ecclesiastical state, urged him to marry. In opposition to his scruples, and the thought of the calumnies to which such a step might give rise, one idea perpetually presented itself to Luther's mind with new energy; marriage is a divine—celibacy a human institution. He had a horror at everything that came from Rome. 'I wish,' said he to his friends, 'to preserve no part of my papistical life.' He prayed night and day, beseeching the Lord to deliver him from his uncertainty. To the testimony 'it is not good that man should be alone,' was added a motive of a still higher nature and greater power. He saw that if he was called to marriage as a man, he was still more called to it as a reformer. This decided him. 'If this monk marries,' said his friend, lawyer Schurff, 'he will make the world and the devil burst with laughter, and destroy the work which he has begun.' This saying made a very different impression upon Luther from what might have been supposed. To defy the world, the devil, and his enemies, and, by an action, fitted, as was thought, to destroy the work of the Reformation, to prevent the success of it being in any way ascribed to him, was the very thing which he desired. Hence, boldly lifting his head, he replied, 'Very well, I shall do it. I shall play this trick to the world and the devil—I will give this joy to my father, I will marry Catherine.' By marrying, Luther broke still more completely with the institutions of the papacy. He confirmed the doctrine which he had preached by his example, and encouraged the timid entirely to renounce their scruples. At this time, Rome was, ap-

parently, here and there, regaining part of the territory which she had lost ; she was perhaps beginning to cherish a hope of victory ; and lo, a mighty explosion carries surprise and terror into her ranks, and makes her more fully aware of the courage of the enemy whom she thought she had tamed. ‘I wish,’ said Luther, ‘to bear testimony to the gospel, not only by my words, but also by my works. In the face of my enemies, who already triumph and sing jubilee, I mean to marry a nun, in order that they may understand and know that they have not vanquished me. I do not marry in the hope of living long with my wife ; but seeing that my end is near, and that after my death they will trample my doctrine under foot, I mean to leave for the edification of the weak, a striking confirmation of what I have taught here below.’

“ On the 11th June, 1525, Luther repaired to the house of his friend and colleague, Amsdorff. He asked for Pomeranus, whom he distinguished by the name of ‘the Pastor,’ to bless his union. The celebrated painter, Lucas Cranach, and Doctor John Apelles acted as witnesses. Melancthon was not present.

“ Luther’s marriage made a noise throughout Christendom. He was assailed from all quarters with accusations and calumnies. ‘It is incest,’ exclaimed Henry VIII. ‘A monk marrying a vestal,’ said some. ‘Antichrist must be born of this union,’ said others ; ‘for there is a prophecy that he is to spring from a monk and a nun.’ On this, Erasmus observed, with a sarcastic smile, ‘If the prophecy be true, how many thousands of antichrists must the world already contain ?’ But while Luther was thus assailed, several wise and moderate men within the pale of the Romish church, took up his defence. ‘Luther,’ said Erasmus, ‘has married a member of the illustrious house of Bora, but without dowry.’ A still more venerable testimony was given to him. The teacher of Germany, Philip Melancthon, whom this bold step had at first amazed, said, in that solemn tone, to which even his enemies listened with respect, ‘If it is pretended that there is anything unbecoming in the marriage of Luther, it is a lie and a calumny. I think he



must have done violence to his own feelings in marrying. Married life is a humble, but it is also a holy, state—if there is such a state in the world—and the Scriptures uniformly represent it as honourable in the sight of God.’

“ Luther was at first moved on seeing so much contempt and wrath poured out upon him. Melancthon redoubled his friendship and regard, and the Reformer was soon able to see in the opposition of men only a sign of the approbation of God. ‘Did I not offend the world,’ said he, ‘I should have reason to tremble, lest what I have done should not be agreeable to God!’

“ There was an interval of eight years between Luther’s attack on indulgences, and his marriage with Catherine Bora. It would thus be difficult, though it is still attempted, to attribute his zeal against the abuses of the church to an impatient desire of marrying. He was at this time forty-two years of age, and Catherine Bora had been two years at Wittemberg. Luther was happy in his marriage. A son was born about a year after. The sweets of domestic life soon dissipated the clouds which the anger of his enemies had at first raised around him; and this happy turn of mind continued with him ever after, even amidst the greatest dangers.

“ The almost universal corruption of the clergy had brought the priesthood into the greatest contempt, and though there were some true servants of God, their isolated virtues could not do away with it. Domestic peace, conjugal fidelity, the surest foundations of earthly happiness, were continually disturbed in town and country by the licentiousness of monks and priests. None were secure against their attempts at seduction. They took advantage of the free access which they had into the bosom of families, and sometimes also of the intimate intercourse furnished by the confessional, to instil a deadly poison into their penitents, and so gratify their vicious propensities. The Reformation, by abolishing the celibacy of priests, re-established the sacredness of the marriage tie. The marriage of ecclesiastics put an end to an immense number of secret crimes. The Reformers became models to their flocks in the most inti-

mate and important relation of life, and the people were not slow in expressing their joy at again seeing the ministers of religion become husbands and fathers.

“ Luther’s marriage at first seemed to add to the embarrassment of the Reformation, which was still suffering from the shock which it had received from the revolt of the peasants. The sword of the emperor and the princes had always been drawn against it, and its friends, the landgrave and the new Elector, seemed discouraged and afraid to speak out. However, this state of things was not of long duration. The young landgrave soon stood up boldly. Ardent and courageous, like Luther, he had been won by the charms of the Reformer’s character. He threw himself into the cause of the Reformation with the eagerness of youth, and at the same time studied it with the gravity of a maturer intellect. In Saxony, the place of Frederick had not been supplied either in regard to wisdom or influence; but his brother, the Elector John, instead of the passive part of protection, interfered more directly, and with more courage in religious affairs. When quitting Weimar, on the 16th August, 1525, he intimated to the assembled priests, ‘I desire that in future you preach the pure word of God, without any human addition.’ Some old ecclesiastics, who did not know how to obey, replied with great simplicity, ‘We are not forbidden, however, to say mass for the dead, nor to bless water and salt.’—‘Everything,’ resumed the Elector, ‘ceremonies as well as preaching, ought to be regulated by the word of God.’

“ The young landgrave shortly after formed the strange project of converting his father-in-law, duke George. Sometimes he proved the sufficiency of Scripture, sometimes attacked the mass, the papacy, and vows. Letter succeeded letter, and all the declarations of the word of God were alternately opposed to the faith of the old duke. These efforts did not prove useless. The son of duke George was gained to the Reformation. But Philip failed with his father-in-law. ‘In one hundred years,’ said the latter, ‘it will be seen who is in the right.’ ‘Sad words,’ said the Elector of Saxony. ‘What kind of faith is it that stands in

need of such a trial? Poor duke—he will wait long. God, I fear, has hardened him as he did Pharaoh!’ In Philip, the evangelical party found a bold and intelligent leader, capable of withstanding the formidable attacks, which their enemies were preparing. But is there not reason to regret that the head of the Reformation was, from this moment, a man of war, instead of being a mere disciple of the word of God? The human element was enlarged, and the spiritual element diminished. This was detrimental. For every work ought to be developed according to its own nature, and that of the Reformation was essentially spiritual.

“God was multiplying its supports. A powerful state, on the frontiers of Germany, Prussia, gladly arrayed itself under the gospel standard. ‘Take pity on our misery,’ said the people of Prussia to the grand master, ‘and give us preachers who proclaim the pure gospel of Jesus Christ.’ Albert, at first, gave no answer, but he entered into conference with Sigismund, king of Poland, his uncle and sovereign lord, who acknowledged him as hereditary duke of Prussia. The new prince entered his capital of Königsberg amid the ringing of bells and the acclamations of the people; all the houses were splendidly decorated, and the streets strewed with flowers. ‘There is only one order,’ said Albert, ‘and that is the order of Christendom.’ The monastic orders disappeared, and the divine order was re-established. The bishops gave up their secular rights to the new duke; the convents were turned into hospitals; the gospel was preached even in the humblest village, and in the following year, Albert married Dorothea, daughter of the king of Denmark, whose ‘faith in the one only Saviour’ was immovable. The pope called upon the emperor to exercise severity against this ‘apostate’ monk, and Charles put Albert under the ban.

“While John of Saxony, Philip of Hesse, and Albert of Prussia professed the Reformation, and thus the place of prudent Frederick was supplied by three princes of resolution and courage, the holy work made progress in the church and among the nations. Luther solicited the Elector to establish the evangelical ministry throughout his states in-

stead of the priesthood of Rome, and to appoint a general visitation of the churches. About the same time episcopal powers began to be exercised, and ministers to be consecrated. 'The pope, the bishops, the monks, and the priests need not make a noise. We are the church. There is no other church than the assembly of those who have the word of God, and are purified by it.'

"All this could not be said and done without producing a powerful reaction. Rome had thought the Reformation extinguished in the blood of the rebellious peasants, but everywhere its flames reappeared brighter and fiercer. She resolved to make a new effort. The pope and the emperor wrote threatening letters, the one from Rome, the other from Spain. The imperial government prepared to replace matters on the ancient footing, and it was seriously proposed entirely to crush the Reformation at the approaching Diet.

"The electoral prince of Saxony and the landgrave, alarmed, met on the 7th November at the castle of Friedewalt, and agreed that their deputies at the Diet should act on a common understanding. Thus, in the forest of Sullingen, were formed the first elements of an evangelical alliance opposed to the leagues of Ratisbon and Dessau.

"The Diet was opened on the 11th December at Augsburg. The evangelical princes did not attend in person. The deputies of Saxony and Hesse spoke out boldly at the outset. 'The revolt of the peasants,' said they, 'was occasioned by imprudent severity. Neither by fire nor sword can the truth of God be plucked out of men's hearts. If you resolve on employing violence against the Reformation, the result will be more dreadful evils than those which you have just with difficulty escaped.' It was felt that the resolution which should be taken could not fail to be of immense importance. Everyone was desirous to put off the decisive moment in order to gain additional strength. It was therefore resolved to meet again at Spire in May following. The rescript of Nuremberg was meanwhile to continue in force. 'Then,' said they, 'we will thoroughly decide the points of holy faith, righteousness, and peace.'

“The landgrave prosecuted his design. In the end of February, 1526, he had a conference with the Elector at Gotha. The two princes agreed that if they were attacked on account of the word of God, they would unite their whole forces to resist their adversaries. This alliance was ratified at Torgau. It was to have important results. The landgrave did not think the alliance of Torgau sufficient. Convinced that Charles V. was seeking to form a league ‘against Christ and his holy word,’ he wrote letter after letter to the Elector, representing the necessity of uniting with other states. ‘For myself,’ said he, ‘I would die, and be chased from my throne, sooner than abjure the word of God.’

“At the electoral court there was great uncertainty. In fact, there was a serious obstacle to the union of the evangelical princes. Luther wished that the evangelical doctrine should be defended by God alone. He thought that the less men interfered with it, the more manifest the interposition of God would appear. Melancthon feared that the alliance of the evangelical princes was the very thing to bring on the war which it was wished to avoid. The landgrave did not allow himself to be arrested by these considerations, and endeavoured to induce the states around him to join the alliance, but his efforts were not crowned with success. Frankfort refused to become a party to it. The elector of Trèves withdrew his opposition, and accepted a pension from the emperor. The elector palatine himself, whose evangelical leanings were well known, rejected the propositions of Philip.

“The landgrave thus failed in the direction of the Rhine, but the Elector, notwithstanding the advice of the theologians of the Reformation, entered into negotiation with the princes who, at all times, had rallied round the throne of Saxony. On the 12th June, the Elector and his son, the dukes Philip, Ernest, Otho, and Francis of Brunswick and Luneberg, duke Henry of Mecklenburg, prince Wolf of Anhalt, counts Albert and Gebhard of Mansfield, met at Magdeburg, and there, under the presidency of the Elector, formed an alliance similar to that of Torgau. ‘God Almighty,’ said these princes, ‘having in his ineffable mercy caused *his*

holy and eternal word, the food of our souls and our greatest treasure here below, *to appear again amongst men*; and powerful manœuvres having been employed on the part of *the clergy and their adherents to annihilate and extirpate it*, we, being firmly assured that He who has sent it to glorify his name upon the earth, is able also to maintain it, engage to preserve this holy word to our people, and for this end to employ our goods, our lives, our states, our subjects, all that we possess—confiding not in our armies, but solely in the omnipotence of the Lord, whose instruments we desire to be.’ So spoke the princes. The town of Magdeburg was two days after received into the alliance, and the new duke of Prussia, Albert, duke of Brandenburg, gave in his adherence to it in a special form.

“The evangelical alliance was formed, but the dangers which it was intended to avert became every day more alarming. The princes and priests friendly to Rome had seen this Reformation, which they thought completely strangled, suddenly rise up before them in a formidable shape. The partisans of the Reformation were already almost as powerful as those of the pope. If they have the majority in the Diet, it is easy to divine what the ecclesiastical states have to expect. Now, then, or never. The question is no longer merely the refutation of a heresy; a powerful party must be combated. Other victories than those of Dr. Eck must now save Christendom.

“Decisive measures had already been taken. The metropolitan chapter of the primary church of Mentz had convened a meeting of all its suffragans, and decided on sending a deputation to the emperor and the pope to ask them to save the church. At the same time duke George of Saxony, duke Henry of Brunswick, and the cardinal elector Albert had met at Halle, and had also resolved to address Charles V. ‘The detestable doctrine of Luther,’ said they, ‘makes rapid progress. Every day attempts are made to gain even us, and when gentle means fail, attempts are made to compel us by stirring up our subjects. We invoke the assistance of the emperor.’ Accordingly, after the conference, Brunswick himself set out for Spain to decide Charles.

“He could not have arrived at a more favourable moment. The emperor had just concluded with Francis the famous treaty of Madrid; and as he seemed to have nothing to fear in that quarter, his eyes were now turned wholly to Germany. Francis I. had offered to pay half the expenses of the war, whether against the heretics or against the Turks. This was the time when Henry of Brunswick arrived from Germany, and besought Charles V. to save the church and the empire, which were now attacked by the monk of Wittemberg. His request was immediately taken into consideration, and the emperor determined on decisive measures.

“On the 25th March, 1526, he wrote to several of the princes and towns which adhered to Rome, and at the same time gave the duke of Brunswick a special commission to say to them, that with deep grief he had learned that the continual progress of Luther’s heresy was threatening to fill Germany with sacrilege, devastation, and blood—that, on the other hand, he had extreme pleasure in seeing the fidelity of the great majority of the states—that, neglecting every other affair, he was going to quit Spain and repair to Rome to make arrangements with the pope, and thenceforth return to Germany to combat the detestable pest of Wittemberg: that as to themselves they ought to adhere stedfastly to their faith; and if the Lutherans sought to draw them into error by stratagem or force, they should enter into close union with each other, and resist boldly—that he would shortly arrive and support them with all his authority.

“On the return of Brunswick to Germany, the Catholic party were overjoyed, and proudly lifted their heads. The dukes of Brunswick and Pomerania, Albert of Mecklenburg, John of Juliers, George of Saxony, the dukes of Bavaria, and all the ecclesiastical princes thought themselves sure of victory, after they read the threatening letters of the conqueror of Francis I. They would repair to the approaching Diet, they would humble the heretical princes, and if they did not otherwise submit, would compel them by the sword. Duke George is confidently affirmed to have said, ‘I may be Elector of Saxony whenever I please.’ One day the duke’s chancellor said at Torgau, with an air of triumph,

‘Luther’s cause cannot hold out long, it had better be looked to.’

“Luther, in fact, did look to it, but not in the sense thus implied; he attentively followed the designs of the enemies of the word of God, and thought, as well as Melancthon, that he would soon see thousands of swords drawn against the gospel. But he sought his strength in a higher source than man. ‘Satan,’ wrote he to Frederick Myconius, ‘is giving full vent to his fury; wicked pontiffs are conspiring and threatening us with war. Exhort the people to fight valiantly before the throne of God by faith and prayer, so that our enemies, being overcome by the spirit of God, may be compelled to make peace. The first want, the first work is prayer; let the people know that they are now exposed to the edge of the sword and the fury of the devil, and let them pray.’

“Thus every preparation was made for a decisive combat. The Reformation had on its side the prayers of Christians, the sympathies of the people, and the rising influence of mind which no power could arrest. The papacy had in its favour the ancient order of things, the power of ancient custom, the zeal and hatred of formidable princes, and the power of that great emperor whose dominion extended over two worlds, and who had just given so rude a check to the glory of Francis I. Such was the posture of affairs at the opening of the Diet at Spire.”

It will be observed how interestingly our history exhibits the continued development of the power of the Apocalyptic rod, in the visible proportions which the Reformed Church is now seen to be assuming; and how circumstances are gradually but surely converging towards the consummation of the great event of the prophecy. Charles V., however, on the side of the pope, and enemy of the Reformation, still obstinately contradicts our interpretation given to the prophecy respecting him.

D’Aubigné continues, by saying:—“We have witnessed the commencement, the struggles, the reverses, and the progress of the Reformation; but the conflicts hitherto described have been only partial; we are entering upon a new period

—that of general battles. Spires (1529) and Augsburg (1530) are names that shine forth with more immortal glory than Marathon, Pavia, or Marengo. Forces that up to the present time were separate, are now uniting into one energetic band; and the power of God is at work in those brilliant actions, which open a new era in the history of nations, and communicate an irresistible impulse to mankind. The passage from the middle ages to modern times has arrived.

“A great protest is about to be accomplished; and although there have been Protestants in the church from the very beginning of Christianity, since liberty and truth could not be maintained here below, save by protesting continually against despotism and error, Protestantism is about to take a new step. *It is about to become a body, and thus attack with greater energy that ‘mystery of iniquity’ which for ages has taken a bodily shape at Rome, in the very temple of God.*”

It will be observed how well this testimony agrees with the general spirit of the prophecy we are now considering. Its comment on the “angel’s oath,”—the instruction—“Rise, and measure the temple of God,” and—“The holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months”—is perfect. D’Aubigné continues,—“The powerful action of reform, by which the apostolic times were re-established at the opening of modern history, proceeded not from man. A reformation is not arbitrarily made, as charters and revolutions are in some countries. A real reformation, prepared during many ages, is the work of the spirit of God. Before the appointed hour, the greatest geniuses, and even the most faithful of God’s servants, cannot produce it; but when the reforming time is come, when it is God’s pleasure to renovate the affairs of the world, the divine life must clear a passage, and it is able to create of itself the humble instruments by which this life is communicated to the human race. Then, if men are silent, the very stones will cry out. It is to the protest of Spires (1529) that we are now about to turn our eyes; but the way to this protest was prepared by years of peace, and followed by attempts at

concord that we shall have also to describe. Nevertheless the formal establishment of Protestantism remains the great fact that prevails in the history of the Reformation from 1526 to 1529."

It may be here observed, that, as this announcement prepares us for the completed fulfilment of the Apocalyptic instruction, "Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein," so it also shows, that at or about that time the illustration must commence of the progressive events foreshown by the terms, "And they stood upon their feet," at which point the visible representation is resumed as before explained. Accordingly, as an interval of three years and a half is prophetically declared between the symbolic death of the witnesses and their again standing on their feet, it will be seen that the former event must be imminent, if history continues to preserve its correspondence therewith. We may now, therefore, watch with increased interest every announcement, to catch the first signs of change in the designs of Charles V., without which, as before observed, history will, for the first time, fail to supply us with the event suggested by the prophetic record. Resuming our historic narrative, D'Aubigné continues to say:—"The duke of Brunswick had brought into Germany the threatening message of Charles V. That emperor was about to repair from Spain to Rome to come to an understanding with the pope, and from thence to pass into Germany to constrain the heretics. The last summons was to be addressed to them by the Diet of Spires, 1526. The decisive hour for the Reformation was on the point of striking.

"On the 25th June, 1526, the Diet opened. In the instructions, dated at Seville, 23rd March, the emperor ordered that the church customs should be maintained entire, and called upon the Diet to punish those who refused to carry out the edict of Worms. Ferdinand himself was at Spires, and his presence rendered these orders more formidable. Never had the hostility which the Romish partisans entertained against the evangelical princes, appeared in so striking a manner. 'The Pharisees,' said Spalatin, 'are inveterate in their hatred against Jesus Christ.'

“Never also had the evangelical princes showed so much hope. Instead of coming forward frightened and trembling, like guilty men, they were seen advancing, surrounded by the ministers of the word, with uplifted heads and cheerful looks. Their first step was to ask for a place of worship. The bishop of Spires having indignantly refused this strange request, the princes complained of it as an act of injustice, and ordered their ministers to preach daily in the halls of their palaces, which were immediately filled by an immense crowd from the city and the country, amounting to many thousands. In vain on the feast days did Ferdinand, the ultra-montane princes, and the bishops assist in the pomps of the Roman worship in the beautiful cathedral of Spires; the unadorned word of God, preached in the Protestant vestibules, engrossed all hearers, and the mass was celebrated in an empty church.

“It was not only the ministers, but the knights and the grooms, ‘mere idiots,’ who, unable to control their zeal, everywhere eagerly extolled the word of the Lord. All the followers of the evangelical princes wore these letters embroidered on their right sleeves: V.D.M.I.Æ., that is to say, ‘The word of the Lord endureth for ever.’ The same inscription might be read on the escutcheons of the princes, suspended over their hotels. *The word of God*—such from this moment was the palladium of the Reformation.

“This was not all. The Protestants knew that the mere worship would not suffice; the landgrave had therefore called upon the Elector to banish certain ‘court customs,’ which dishonoured the gospel. These princes had consequently drawn up an order of living which forbade drunkenness, debauchery, and other vicious customs during a Diet. Everything in duke John announced the most powerful prince of the empire. The youthful landgrave of Hesse, full of zeal and knowledge, and in the strength of a first Christian love, made a still deeper impression on those who approached him. He would frequently dispute with the bishops, and owing to his acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures, easily stopped their mouths.

“This firmness in the friends of the Reformation produced

results that surpassed their expectation. It was no longer possible to be deceived; the spirit that was manifested in these men was the spirit of the Bible. *Everywhere the sceptre was falling from the hands of Rome.*"

This testimony to the effect of "the reed like unto a rod" prepares us for the predicted humiliation and death to be completed by "the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit"; but that secular agency is still not forthcoming. D'Aubigné adds, "'The leaven of Luther,' says a zealous papist, 'sets all the people of Germany in a ferment, and foreign nations themselves are agitated by formidable movements.'

"It was immediately seen how great is the strength of deep convictions. The states that were well disposed towards the Reform, but which had not ventured to give their adhesion publicly, became emboldened. The neutral states, demanding the repose of the empire, formed the resolution of opposing the edict of Worms, the execution of which would have spread trouble through all Germany; and the papist states lost their boldness. *The bow of the mighty was broken*" by the mightier hand which bore "the reed like unto a rod." The historian continues:—

"Ferdinand did not think proper, at so critical a moment, to communicate to the Diet the severe instructions he had received from Seville. He substituted a proposition calculated to satisfy both parties.

"The laymen immediately recovered the influence of which the clergy had dispossessed them. The ecclesiastics resisted a proposal in the college of princes that the Diet should occupy itself with church abuses, but their exertions were unavailing. It was already a point gained, that religious matters were no longer to be regulated solely by the priests.

"As soon as this resolution was communicated to the deputies from the cities, they called for the abolition of every usage contrary to the faith of Jesus Christ. In vain did the bishops exclaim, that instead of doing away with pretended abuses, they would do much better to burn all the books with which Germany had been inundated during the

last eight years. 'You desire,' was the reply, 'to bury all wisdom and knowledge.' The request of the cities was agreed to, and the Diet was divided into committees for the abolition of abuses. Then was manifested the profound disgust inspired by the priests of Rome. 'The clergy,' said the deputy for Frankfort, 'make a jest of the public good, and look after their own interests only.' 'The laymen,' said the deputy from duke George, 'have the salvation of Christendom much more at heart than the clergy.'

"The commissioners made their report; people were astonished at it. Never had men spoken out so freely against the pope and the bishops. The commission of the princes, in which the ecclesiastics and laymen were in equal numbers, proposed a fusion of popery and reform. 'The priests would do better to marry,' said they, 'than to keep women of ill-fame in their houses; every man should be at liberty to communicate under one or both forms; German and Latin may be equally employed in the Lord's supper and in baptism; as for the other sacraments, let them be preserved, but let them be administered gratuitously. Finally let the word of God be preached according to the interpretation of the church (this was the demand of Rome), but always explaining scripture by scripture' (this was the great principle of the Reformation). Thus the first step was taken towards a national union. Still a few more efforts, and the whole German race would be walking in the direction of the gospel.

"The evangelical Christians, at the sight of this glorious prospect, redoubled their exertions. 'Stand fast in the doctrine,' said the Elector of Saxony to his councillors. At the same time hawkers in every part of the city were selling Christian pamphlets, short and easy to read, written in Latin and in German, in which the errors of Rome were vigorously attacked. One of these books was entitled, *The papacy, with its members painted and described, by Doctor Luther*. In it figured the pope, the cardinals, and all the religious orders, exceeding sixty, each with their costumes and description in verse. Under the picture of these orders were the following lines: 'Greedy priests, see roll in gold, forgetful of the

humble Jesu.’—Under another: ‘We forbid you to behold the Bible, lest it should mislead you.’—And under a third: ‘We can fast and pray the harder with an overflowing larder.’ ‘Not one of these orders,’ said Luther to the reader, ‘thinks either of faith or charity. This one wears the tonsure, the other a hood; this a cloak, that a robe. One is white, another black, a third gray, and a fourth blue. Here is one holding a looking-glass, there one with a pair of scissors. Each has his playthings: Ah! these are the palmer-worms, the locusts, the canker-worms, and the caterpillars, which, as Joel saith, have eaten up all the earth.’

“But if Luther employed the scourges of sarcasm, he also blew the trumpets of the prophets; and this he did in a work entitled, *The destruction of Jerusalem*. Shedding tears, like Jeremiah, he denounced to the German people a ruin similar to that of the holy city,” (“where also our Lord was crucified”), “if, like it, they rejected the gospel. ‘God has imparted to us all his treasures!’ exclaimed he, ‘he became man, he has served us, he died for us, he has risen again, and he has so opened the gates of heaven that all may enter. The hour of grace is come. The glad tidings are proclaimed. But where is the city, where is the prince that has received them? They insult the gospel: they draw the sword, and, daring, seize God by the beard. But wait! He will turn round; with one blow will he break their jaws, and all Germany will be one vast ruin.’ These works had a very great sale. They were read not only by the peasants and townspeople, but also by the nobles and princes. Leaving the priests alone at the foot of the altar, they threw themselves into the arms of the new gospel. The necessity of a reform of abuses was proclaimed on the 1st August by a general committee.

“Then, Rome, which had appeared to slumber, awoke. Fanatical priests, monks, ecclesiastical princes, all gathered round Ferdinand. Cunning, bribery, nothing was spared. Did not Ferdinand possess the instructions of Seville? To refuse their publication was to effect the ruin of the church and of the empire. Let the voice of Charles, said they, oppose its powerful *veto* to the dizziness that is hurrying Ger-

many along, and the empire will be saved! Ferdinand made up his mind, and at length, on the 3rd August, published the decree drawn up more than four months previously in favour of the edict of Worms.

“The persecution was about to begin; the Reformers would be thrown into dungeons, and the sword drawn on the banks of the Guadalquivir would at last pierce the bosom of the Reformation. The effect of the imperial ordinance was immense. The breaking of an axle-tree does not more violently check the velocity of a railway train. The Elector and the landgrave announced that they were about to quit the Diet, and ordered their attendants to prepare for their departure. At the same time the deputies from the cities drew towards these two princes, and the Reformation appeared as if it would enter immediately upon a contest with the pope *and Charles V.*

“But it was not yet prepared for a general struggle. The tree was destined to strike its root deeper, before the Almighty unchained the stormy winds against it. *A spirit of blindness*, similar to that which in former times was sent out upon Saul and Herod, *then seized upon the great enemy of the gospel*; and thus was it that Divine Providence saved the Reformation in its cradle.

“The first movement of trouble being over, the friends of the gospel began to consider the date of the imperial instructions, and to weigh the new political combinations, which seemed to announce to the world the most *unlooked-for* events.” (The looked-for by us we may hope.) “‘When the emperor wrote those letters,’ said the cities of Upper Germany, ‘he was on good terms with the pope, but now everything is changed. It is even asserted that he told Margaret, his representative in the Low Countries, to proceed *gently* with respect to the gospel. Let us send him a deputation.’ That was not necessary. Charles had not waited until now to form a different resolution. The course of public affairs, taking a sudden turn, had rushed into an entirely new path. Years of peace were about to be granted to the Reformation.”

At length history begins to encourage us. “Charles V. has formed a different resolution.” D’Aubigné continues:

“Clement VII., whom Charles was about to visit, according to the instructions of Seville, in order to receive the imperial crown in Rome itself and from his sacred hands, and in return to give up to the pontiff the gospel and the Reformation,—Clement VII., seized with a strange infatuation, had *suddenly* turned against this powerful monarch. The emperor, unwilling to favour his ambition in every point, had opposed his claims on the states of the duke of Ferrara. Clement immediately became exasperated, and cried out that Charles wished to enslave the peninsula, but that the time was come for re-establishing the independence of Italy. This great idea of Italian independence, entertained at that period by a few literary men, had not, as in our days, penetrated the mass of the nation. Clement, therefore, hastened to have recourse to political combinations. The pope, the Venetians, and the king of France, who had scarcely recovered his liberty, formed a *holy league*, of which the king of England was, by a bull, nominated preserver and protector. In June, 1526, the emperor caused the most favourable propositions to be presented to the pope; but his advances were ineffectual, and the duke of Sessa, Charles’s ambassador at Rome, returning on horseback from his last audience, placed a court-fool behind him, who, by a thousand monkey tricks, gave the Roman people to understand how little they cared for the pope and his projects. Clement responded to these bravadoes by a brief, in which he threatened the emperor with excommunication, and without loss of time pushed his troops into Lombardy, whilst Milan, Florence, and Piedmont declared for the holy league. Thus was Europe preparing to be avenged for the triumph of Pavia.

“Charles did not hesitate. He wheeled to the right as quickly as the pope had done to the left, and *turned abruptly towards the evangelical princes*. ‘Let us suspend the edict of Worms,’ wrote he to his brother; ‘let us bring back Luther’s partisans by mildness’ (the plot thickens rapidly) ‘and by a good council cause *the triumph of evangelical truth*.’ At the same time he demanded that the *Elector, the landgrave, and their allies should march with him against the Turks—or against Italy, for the common good of Christendom*.

“Ferdinand hesitated. To gain the friendship of the Lutherans was to forfeit that of the other princes, who were already beginning to utter violent threats. The Protestants themselves were not very eager to take the emperor’s hand. ‘It is God, God himself,’ they said, ‘who will save his churches.’ What was to be done? The edict of Worms could neither be repealed nor carried into execution. So strange a situation led of necessity to the desired solution: religious liberty. The first idea of this occurred to the deputies of the cities. ‘In one place,’ said they, ‘the ancient ceremonies have been preserved; in another, they have been abolished; and both think they are right. Let us allow every man to do as he thinks fit, until a council shall re-establish the desired unity by the word of God.’ This idea gained favour, and the *recess* of the Diet, dated the 17th August, decreed that a universal, or, at least, a national free council should be convoked within a year, that they should request the emperor to return speedily to Germany, and that, until then, each state should behave in its own territory in such a manner as to be able to render an account to God and to the emperor.

“Thus they escaped from their difficulty by a middle course. The Diet of 1526 forms an important epoch in history; an ancient power, that of the middle ages, is shaken; a new power, that of modern times, is advancing; religious liberty boldly takes its stand in front of Romish despotism; a lay spirit prevails over the sacerdotal spirit. In this single step there is a complete victory; the cause of the reform is won,” and the power of the symbolic rod vindicated.

“Yet it was little suspected. Great things are often transacted under an appearance of frivolity, and God accomplishes his designs unknown even to those whom he employs as his instruments. In this Diet, a gravity and love of liberty of conscience were manifested, which are the fruits of Christianity, and which in the sixteenth century had its earliest, if not its most energetic, development among the German nations.”

The way appearing now clear for the expected denoue-

ment; the power of the rod conspicuously exhibited; and Charles V., notwithstanding the contradiction of his antecedents, having shown symptoms of performing the part assigned to him; another character, not unexpected, now comes in to complete the company, and to take his part in the grand act. His entrance on the scene is thus reported by D'Aubigné, in continuation of his history:—"Yet Ferdinand still hesitated. *Mahomet himself came to the aid of the gospel.* Louis, king of Hungary and Bohemia, drowned at Mohacz on the 29th August, 1526, as he was fleeing before Soliman II., had bequeathed the crown of these two kingdoms to Ferdinand. But the duke of Bavaria, the Waywode of Transylvania, and, above all, the terrible Soliman, contested it against him. This was sufficient to occupy Charles's brother: *he left Luther, and hastened to dispute two thrones.*" Mezeray, the Roman Catholic historian, before quoted, thus speaks of this event:—"Towards Hungary there happened a great and mischievous business to the house of Austria. Solyman, falling upon that kingdom, the young king Lewis was forced by the general of his army (he was named Paul Tomore, a man of quality, and one who, having a long time borne arms, was turned monk of the order of Cordeliers, and then promoted to the archbishopric of Colacse, in the Upper Hungary), to give him battle. It was upon the twenty-ninth of August, 1526, on the plains of Mohacz, where he was overcome and drowned in the neighbouring marshes. All the flower of his nobility were slain there, and afterwards the whole country overrun by the Turks, and drenched with the blood of nearly three hundred thousand of his poor subjects.

"That was but the beginning of the calamities of that unhappy kingdom; Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, founding himself upon the Right and Title of Anne his wife, sister of king Lewis (who had likewise married his, named Mary), and upon certain Contracts made by his Predecessors, prevailed to be crowned by part of the Hungarians, and John de Zapols, Vaivod of Transylvania, earl of Scepus, was elected by the other Cabal. This, being the weaker, had recourse to the protection of the Turk; which occasioned a

long series of misfortunes and desolations in Hungary, equally plagued and rent in pieces by the Barbarians, and those that said they were their kings."

Thus, we have "Mahomet" engrossing the attention of Ferdinand, the most powerful friend of the papacy, just at the period, when Charles V., previously entitled to that distinction, becomes its enemy, and takes the part of the Reformation.

If Mahomet's entrance on the stage, 31st August, 1526, is greeted by his Apocalyptic audience with applause and admiration, redoubled acclamations must attend his exit, 14th October, 1529, just in time to admit of the way being prepared for the fulfilment of the prophecy, "And after three days and an half they stood upon their feet." The papacy being under the iron grasp of "Mahomet" but three years and six weeks, his diversion, as D'Aubigné says, "in favour of the gospel" is limited to that duration of time; so that, whilst, on the one hand, we may expect soon to see the papacy humiliated and lifeless, on the other hand, we may also expect to see its reanimation at no very distant time after October, 1529. The exit of "Mahomet" at that date is thus recorded by Mezeray:—

"During these troubles between the two greatest powers of Christendom, Solyman snatched away the greatest part of Hungary. The pretended king John had called him to his aid; but the tyrant, instead of putting him into possession of the kingdom, took for himself the cities of the five churches, Alba Royal where were the sepulchres of their kings, Buda, Strigonium, and Altemburgh. After these conquests he laid siege to Vienna; but in a month's time the scarcity of provisions and the approach of winter made him dislodge. He raised his siege the fourteenth of October, 1529, after he had lost near threescore thousand men, and took his march towards Constantinople."

Resuming our history from D'Aubigné's pages, we have in continuation:—"The emperor immediately reaped the fruits of *his new policy*. No longer having his hands tied by Germany, he turned them *against Rome*. The Reformation was to be exalted and the papacy abased. The blows aimed

at its pitiless enemy were about to open a new career to the evangelical work. *The puissant Charles, instead of marching with the pope against the Reformation, as he had threatened at Seville, marches with the Reformation against the pope.* A few days had sufficed to produce this change of direction; there are few periods in history in which the hand of God is more plainly manifested. Charles immediately assumed all the airs of a *Reformer*. On the 17th September, 1526, he addressed a manifesto to the pope, in which he reproaches him for behaving not like the father of the faithful, but like an insolent and haughty man; and declares his astonishment that he, Christ's vicar, should dare to shed blood to acquire earthly possessions, 'which,' added he, 'is quite contrary to the evangelical doctrine.' Luther could not have spoken better. 'Let your holiness,' continued Charles the Fifth, 'return the sword of St. Peter into the scabbard, and convoke a holy and universal council.' But the sword was much more to the pontiff's taste than the council. Is not the papacy, according to the Romish doctors, the source of the two powers? Can it not depose kings, and consequently fight against them? Charles prepared to requite 'eye for eye and tooth for tooth.'

"Now began that terrible campaign during which *the storm burst on Rome and on the papacy that had been destined to fall on Germany and the gospel.* By the violence of the blows inflicted on the pontifical city, we may judge of the severity of those that would have dashed in pieces the reformed churches. While retracing such scenes of horror, we have constant need of calling to mind that the chastisement of the seven-hilled city had been predicted by the holy Scriptures."

It must be observed that the historian does not here allude to the prophecy under consideration, which had predicted it as the result of the combined action of "the reed like unto a rod" and of "the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit," for he directs his readers by a note to Rev. xviii., adding, "We should not, however, restrict this prediction to the incomplete sack of 1527, from which the city recovered."

“The constable of Bourbon,” (continues D’Aubigné), “who succeeded to the chief command of the imperial army after the death of Pescara, had just taken possession of the duchy of Milan. The emperor having promised him this conquest for a recompence, Bourbon was compelled to remain there some time to consolidate his power. At length, on the 12th February, 1527, he and his Spanish troops joined the army of Freundsberg (the old general who had in so friendly a manner patted Luther on the shoulder, as the Reformer was about to appear at the Diet of Worms), which was becoming impatient at the delays. The constable had many men, but no money; he resolved, therefore, to follow the advice of the duke of Ferrara, that inveterate enemy of the princes of the church, and proceed straight to Rome. The whole army received the news with a shout of joy. The Spaniards were filled with the desire of avenging Charles V., and the Germans were overflowing with hatred against the pope. Their shouts re-echoed beyond the Alps. Every man in Germany thought that the last hour of the papacy had arrived, and prepared to contemplate its fall. ‘The emperor’s forces are triumphing in Italy,’ wrote Luther; ‘*the pope is visited from every quarter. His destruction draweth nigh; his hour and his end are come.*’” To which we may add, and the prophecy fulfilled.

D’Aubigné continues:—“A few slight advantages gained by the papal soldiers in the kingdom of Naples led to the conclusion of a truce that was to be ratified by the pope, and by the emperor. As soon as this was known,” (which would have prevented the predicted chastisement), “a frightful tumult broke out in the constable’s army. The Spanish troops revolted, compelled him to flee, and pillaged his tent. Then, approaching the *lansquenets* (the German foot), they began to shout as loudly as they could the only German words they knew: *Lance! Lance! Money! Money!* Such cries found an echo in the bosom of the imperialists; they were moved in their turn, and also began to shout with all their might: *Lance! Lance! Money! Money!* Freundsberg beat to muster; and having drawn up the soldiers around him and his principal officers, calmly de-

manded if he had ever deserted them. All was useless. The old affection which the lansquenets bore to their leader seemed extinct. One chord alone vibrated in their hearts: they must have pay and war. Accordingly, lowering their lances, they presented them as if they would slay their officers, and again began to shout, 'Lance! Lance! Money! Money!' When Freundsberg, whom no army, however large, had ever frightened, saw those lansquenets, at whose head he had grown grey, aiming their murderous steel against him, he lost all power of utterance, and fell senseless upon a drum, as if struck with a thunderbolt. The strength of the veteran general was broken for ever. But the sight of their dying captain produced on the lansquenets an effect that no speech could have made. All the lances were upraised, and the agitated soldiers retired with downcast eyes. Four days later Freundsberg recovered his speech. 'Forward,' said he to the constable; 'God himself will bring us to the mark.' 'Forward! forward!' repeated the lansquenets. Bourbon had no alternative; besides, neither Charles nor Clement would listen to any proposals of peace." The time for the predicted catastrophe had arrived, and no human power could prevent it. "Freundsberg was carried to Ferrara, and afterwards to his castle of Mindelheim, where he died after an illness of eighteen months; and on the 18th April, 1527, Bourbon took that high road to Rome which so many formidable armies coming from the north had already trodden.

"Whilst the storm, descending from the Alps, was approaching the eternal city, *the pope lost his presence of mind*, sent away his troops, and kept only his body-guard. More than 30,000 Romans, capable of bearing arms, paraded their bravery in the streets, dragging their long swords after them, quarrelling and fighting; but these citizens, eager in the pursuit of gain, had little thought of defending the pope, and hoping to derive great profit from his stay, they desired, on the contrary, that the magnificent Charles would come and settle in Rome.

"On the evening of the 5th May, Bourbon arrived under the walls of the capital; and he would have begun the

assault that very moment, had he been provided with ladders. On the morning of the 6th, the army, concealed by a thick fog which hid their movements, was put in motion, the Spaniards marching to their station above the gate of the Holy Ghost, and the Germans below. The constable, wishing to encourage his soldiers, seized a scaling-ladder, mounted the wall, and called on them to follow him. At this moment a ball struck him; he fell and expired an hour after. Such was the end of this unhappy man, a traitor to his king and to his country, and suspected even by his new friends.

“His death far from checking, served only to excite the army. Claudius Seidenstucker, grasping his long sword, first cleared the wall; he was followed by Michael Hartmann, and these two reformed Germans exclaimed that God himself was marching before them in the clouds. The gates were opened, the army poured in, the suburbs were taken, and the pope, surrounded by thirteen cardinals, fled to the castle of St. Angelo. The imperialists, at whose head was now the prince of Orange, offered him peace on condition of his paying 300,000 crowns. But Clement, who thought that the holy league was on the point of delivering him, and fancied he already saw their leading horsemen, rejected every proposition. After four hours’ repose, the attack was renewed, and by sunset the army was master of all the city. It remained under arms and in good order until midnight, the Spaniards in the Piazza Navona, and the Germans in the Campofiore. At last, seeing no demonstrations either of war or peace, the soldiers disbanded and ran to pillage.

“Then began the famous *Sack of Rome*. *The papacy had for centuries put Christendom in the press*. Prebends, annates, jubilees, pilgrimages, ecclesiastical graces—she had made money of them all. These greedy troops, that for months had lived in wretchedness, determined to make her disgorge. No one was spared, the imperial not more than the ultra-montane party, the Ghibellines not more than the Guelfs. Churches, palaces, convents, private houses, basilics, banks, tombs—everything was pillaged, even to the golden ring that the corpse of Julius II. still wore on its finger. The

Spaniards displayed the greatest skill, scenting out and discovering treasures in the most mysterious hiding-places; but the Neapolitans were the most outrageous. ‘On every side were heard,’ said Guicciardini, ‘the piteous shrieks of the Roman women and of the nuns, whom the soldiers dragged away by companies to satiate their lusts.’

“At first the Germans found a certain pleasure in making the papists feel the weight of their swords. But ere long, happy at procuring victuals and drink, they were more pacific than their allies. It was upon those things which the Romans called ‘holy,’ that the anger of the Lutherans was especially discharged. They took away the chalices, the pyxes, the silver remonstrances, and clothed their servants and camp-boys with the sacerdotal garments. The Campofiore was changed into an immense gambling house. The soldiers brought thither golden vessels and bags full of crowns, staked them upon one throw of the dice, and after losing them went in search of others. A certain Simon Baptista, who had foretold the sack of the city, had been thrown into prison by the pope; the Germans liberated him, and made him drink with them. But, like Jeremiah, he prophesied against all. ‘Rob, plunder,’ cried he to his liberators; ‘you shall, however, give back all; the money of the soldiers and the gold of the priests will follow the same road.’

“Nothing pleased the Germans more than to mock the papal court. ‘Many prelates,’ says Guicciardini, ‘were paraded on asses through all the city of Rome.’ After this procession, the bishops paid their ransom; but they fell into the hands of the Spaniards, who made them pay it a second time.

“One day a lansquenet, named Guillaume de Sainte Celle, put on the pope’s robes, and placed the triple crown upon his head; others gathered round him, adorning themselves with the red hats and long robes of the cardinals; and going in procession upon asses through the streets of the city, they all arrived at last before the castle of St. Angelo, to which Clement VII. had retired. Here the soldier-cardinals alighted, and lifting up the front of their robes, kissed the feet of the pretended pontiff. The latter drank to the health of

Clement VII., the cardinals, kneeling, did the same, and exclaimed that henceforth they would be pious popes and good cardinals, careful not to excite wars" (not to turn waters into blood) "as their predecessors had done. They then formed a conclave, and the pope having announced to his consistory that it was his intention to resign the papacy, all hands were immediately raised for the election, and they cried out, 'Luther is pope! Luther is pope!' Never had pontiff been proclaimed with such perfect unanimity. Such were the humours of the Germans.

"The Spaniards did not let the Romans off so easily. Clement VII. had called them 'Moors' (the descendants of Mahomet), and had published a plenary indulgence for whoever should kill any of them. Nothing, therefore, could restrain their fury. These faithful Catholics put the prelates to death in the midst of horrible cruelties, destined to extort their treasures from them; they spared neither rank, sex, nor age. It was not until the sack had lasted ten days, and a booty of ten millions of golden crowns had been collected, and from five to eight thousand victims had perished, that quiet began to be in some degree restored.

"Thus did the pontifical city decline in the midst of a long and cruel pillage, and *that splendour with which Rome from the beginning of the sixteenth century had filled the world, faded in a few hours.* Nothing could preserve this haughty capital from chastisement, not even the prayers of its enemies. 'I would not have Rome burnt,' Luther had exclaimed, 'it would be a monstrous deed.' The fears of Melancthon were still keener. 'I tremble for the libraries,' said he, 'we know how hateful books are to Mars.' But in despite of these wishes of the Reformers, the city of Leo X., fell under the judgment of God.

"Clement VII., besieged in the castle of St. Angelo, and fearful that the enemy would blow his asylum into the air with their mines, at last capitulated. He renounced every alliance against Charles the Fifth, and bound himself to remain a prisoner until he had paid the army four hundred thousand ducats. The evangelical Christians gazed with astonishment on this judgment of the Lord. '*Such,*' said

they, 'is the empire of Jesus Christ, that the emperor, pursuing Luther on behalf of the pope, is constrained to ruin the pope instead of Luther. All things minister unto the Lord, and turn against his adversaries.' "

The peculiar fitness of D'Aubigné's language and of this quotation again suggests his being a designed commentator on the prophecy, rather than a general historian of the Reformation. As such, however, is disproved by his previous reference to Rev. xviii., we cannot accept his testimony otherwise than as fraught with remarkably illustrative force. It scarcely leaves anything to be added. It will be seen that Charles V., the successor to the Apocalyptic locusts which ascended from the bottomless pit, has made war on the visible professing church, in direct opposition to the tendency of his antecedents; and, in conjunction with the rod-bearing Reformers, indirectly supported by the Turks, the direct living representatives of the locusts, has humiliated her, subverted her authority, and deprived her of spiritual power. It will be also seen, that the visible signs of her degradation were most conspicuously manifested in the capital of her dominions. The prophetic and historic pictures are therefore still found to be in strict accordance. The historic denouement, just related, is thus noticed by Mezeray from a Roman Catholic point of view,—“Whatever can be imagined of Barbarity, Impieties, Sacrilege, Cruel and Horrid acts, excepting Fire, were committed upon the sacking of *this great City*. It lasted two whole months, during which time, the Spaniards, who say they are such good and sound Catholics, did much outdo the Germans, who openly professed they were of Luther's sect, and sworn enemies of the papacy.”

Mosheim says on this subject:—“Charles abolished the papal authority in his Spanish dominions, made war upon the pope in Italy, laid siege to Rome in the year 1527, blocked up Clement in the castle of St. Angelo, and exposed him to the most severe and contumacious treatment.”

Though naturally dazzled by the brilliancy of the colouring which history has here thrown into its picture, we must not be led to overlook that the chastisement thus inflicted on the Roman capital is subservient to the more compre-

hensive chastisement embraced by the prophecy, on the internal doctrines and life of the Romish church. Just as Luther was but a visible impersonation of the spirit of the gospel-intervening angel, so Rome was but the visible representation of "the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified." Accordingly, the events just chronicled, although literally illustrating the prophecy, and thus marking the chronological commencement of the prophetic "three and an half days," must be regarded as an outward sign only of the spiritual degradation which was at this time inflicted on the papacy. That this spiritual degradation was equally conspicuous with its outward visible sign, in addition to the testimony we have already had, and which will be further manifested on resuming our extracts from D'Aubigné, is recorded with intense precision by Mosheim. He first states, in continuation of the extract above quoted:—"These critical events, together with the liberty granted by the Diet of Spire, were prudently improved, by the friends of the Reformation, to the advantage of their cause, and to the augmentation of their number. Several princes, whom the fear of persecution had hitherto prevented from lending a hand to the good work, being delivered now from their restraint, renounced publicly the superstition of Rome, and introduced among their subjects the same forms of religious worship, and the same system of doctrine, that had been received in Saxony. Others, though placed in such circumstances as discouraged them from acting in an open manner against the interests of the Roman pontiff, were, however, far from discovering the smallest opposition to those who withdrew the people from his despotic yoke; nor did they molest the private assemblies of those who had separated themselves from the church of Rome. And in general, all the Germans who, before these resolutions of the Diet of Spire, had rejected the papal discipline and doctrine, were now, in consequence of the liberty they enjoyed, wholly engaged in bringing their schemes and plans to a certain degree of consistence, and in adding vigour and firmness to the glorious cause in which they were engaged.

In the meantime, Luther and his fellow-labourers, by their writings, their instructions, their admonitions and counsels, inspired the timorous with fortitude, dispelled the doubts of the ignorant, fixed the principles and resolution of the floating and inconstant, and animated all the friends of genuine Christianity with a spirit suitable to the grandeur of their undertaking.

“During these transactions in Germany, the dawn of truth arose upon other nations. The light of the Reformation spread itself far and wide; and almost all the European states” (them that dwell upon the earth) “welcomed its salutary beams, and exulted,” rejoiced, made merry, and sent presents one to another, “in the prospect of an approaching deliverance from the yoke of superstition and spiritual despotism,” with which the two prophets tormented them. “Some of the most considerable provinces of Europe had already broke their chains, and openly withdrawn themselves from the discipline of Rome, and the jurisdiction of its pontiff. And thus it appears that Clement VII. was not impelled by a false alarm” (this is prior to 1527) “to demand of the emperor the speedy extirpation of the reformers, *since he had the justest reasons to apprehend the destruction of his ghostly empire.*”

He then recounts the progress of the Reformation in Sweden, Denmark, and France. Of Sweden, he says, “From this time (1527) the papal empire in Sweden was entirely overturned.” Of Denmark, he says, “Encouraged by this edict (1527) the protestant divines exercised the functions of their ministry with such zeal and success, that the greatest part of the Danes opened their eyes upon the auspicious beams of sacred liberty, and abandoned gradually both the doctrines and jurisdiction of the church of Rome. But the honour of finishing this work, of destroying entirely the reign of superstition, and breaking asunder the bonds of papal tyranny, was reserved for Christian III., a prince equally distinguished by his piety and prudence. He suppressed the despotic authority of the bishops, and restored to their owners a great part of the wealth and possessions which the church had acquired by the artful stratagems of

the crafty and designing clergy. This step was followed by a wise and well-judged settlement of religious doctrine, discipline, and worship throughout the kingdom, according to a plan laid down by Bugenhagius, whom the king had sent for from Wittemberg, to perform that arduous task. Thus was the work of the Reformation brought to perfection in Denmark." Mosheim then says, a remark which we must bear in mind :—"It is, however, to be observed, that, in the history of the reformation of Sweden and Denmark, we must carefully distinguish between the reformation of religious opinions and the reformation of the episcopal order. He then attaches the latter character to these reformations, concluding by saying, "Such, therefore, was the critical state of these northern kingdoms in the time of Luther, that it became absolutely necessary either to degrade the bishops from that rank which they dishonoured, and to deprive them of the greatest part of those possessions and prerogatives which they had so unjustly acquired and so licentiously abused, or to see, tamely, royalty rendered contemptible by its weakness, the sovereign deprived of the means of protecting and succouring his people, and the commonwealth exposed to rebellion, misery, and ruin."

Then, referring to France, he says, "The kingdom of France was not inaccessible to the light of the Reformation. Margaret, queen of Navarre, sister to Francis I., the implacable enemy of Charles V., was extremely favourable to the new doctrine, which delivered pure and genuine Christianity from a great part of the superstitions under which it had *so long lain disguised*. Francis, who had either no religion at all, or, at least, no fixed and consistent system of religious principles, conducted himself towards the Protestants in such a manner as answered his private and personal views, or as reasons of policy and a public interest seemed to require. When it became necessary to engage in his cause the German Protestants, in order to foment sedition and rebellion against his mortal enemy, Charles V., then did he treat the Protestants in France with the utmost equity, humanity, and gentleness; but, so soon as he had gained his point, and had no more occasion for their services,

then he appeared to them in the aspect of an implacable tyrant." He then concludes his chapter by saying:—"The instances of an opposition to the doctrine and discipline of Rome in the other European states were few in number, before the Diet of Augsburg, and were too faint, imperfect, and ambiguous to make much noise in the world. It, however, appears from the most authentic testimonies, that even before that period (1530) the doctrine of Luther had made a considerable progress in Spain, Hungary, Bohemia, Britain, Poland, and the Netherlands, and had, in all these countries, many friends. Some of these countries openly broke asunder the chains of superstition, and withdrew themselves in a public and constitutional manner from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff. In others, a prodigious number of families received the light of the Reformation, rejected the doctrines and authority of Rome; and, notwithstanding the calamities and persecutions they have suffered on account of their sentiments under the sceptre of bigotry and superstition, continue still in the profession of the pure doctrine of Christianity; while in other still more unhappy lands, the most barbarous tortures, the most infernal spirit of cruelty, together with penal laws adapted to strike terror into the firmest minds, have extinguished, almost totally, the light of religious truth." (The latter part of this extract, being anticipative, suggests itself as an illustration of "And the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven;" that is, as before explained, to the supreme head of the ecclesiastical state in the empire.) The historian then says, which is the record before alluded to, as illustrating our subject with intense precision:—"It is, indeed, certain, and the Roman Catholics themselves acknowledge it without hesitation, that the papal doctrines, jurisdiction, and authority would have fallen into ruin in all parts of the world" (had they not heard "a great voice from heaven, saying unto them, Come up hither"), "*had not the force of the secular arm been employed to support this tottering edifice, and fire and sword been let loose upon those who were assailing it only with reason and argument.*" But for these means, we may add, "their dead bodies would have been put in graves."

Mosheim's next subject being the proceedings at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, it will be seen that we have anticipated our history by following him to that date. It will be observed, however, that we have a picture presented to us of the papacy in precise accordance with that of the prophecy, not, as before, at the commencement, in 1527, of the three and a half years allotted as the term of its being deprived of spiritual life, but at their termination, in 1530; so that we not only have the duration of the degradation of the professing visible church for three and a half years established, but also, at the same time, have good grounds supplied for the expectation that, in further accordance with the prophecy, the secular arm interposed in her favour at the Diet of Augsburg, and enabled her again to assume her dominant position; and, as it will be remembered, that the prophecy has declared that her reanimation was due to the same arm which deprived her of life, so we may also expect that the resuscitation of the professing church was due to the interposition and favour of Charles V., no longer, therefore, her enemy, but again her powerful friend and patron.

As this resuscitation is the signal for the commencement of events not embraced by the former part of the prophecy, as before explained, we must now resume our history in 1527, as we have yet to witness the constitution and organisation of the evangelical church in order to perfect our illustrations of the terms, "Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein." History, meeting this requirement also, will then have established its accordance with the prophecy on every point up to the resumption of the onward progress of events, again visibly represented by "And they stood upon their feet."

D'Aubigné does not keep us in suspense, for immediately following his account of the Sack of Rome, under the head of "Constitution of the Church," he says:—

"The Reformation needed some years of repose that it might increase and gain strength; and it could not enjoy peace, unless its great enemies were at war with each other. The madness of Clement VII. was, as it were, the *lightning-conductor* of the Reformation and *the ruins of Rome built up*

the gospel. It was not only a few months' gain ; from 1526 to 1529 there was a calm in Germany, by which " (the power of her enemies having been broken) " the Reformation profited to organise and extend itself.

"As the papal yoke had been broken, the ecclesiastical order required to be re-established. It was impossible to restore their ancient jurisdiction to the bishops, for these continental prelates maintained that they were, in an especial manner, the pope's servants. A new state of things was therefore called for, under pain of seeing the church fall into anarchy. This was immediately provided against. It was then that the evangelical nations separated definitely from that despotic dominion which had for ages kept all the West in bondage."

The historian then proceeds to describe at length "the constitution and organisation of the church," the circumstances of which we need not transcribe, as the fact itself sufficiently meets the prophetic requirements. He concludes his account by saying :—"In every place, instead of a hierarchy seeking its righteousness in the works of man, its glory in external pomp, its strength in a material power, the church of the apostles reappeared, humble as in primitive times, and, like the ancient Christians, looking for its righteousness, its glory, and its power solely in the blood of the Lamb and in the word of God."

The last remaining requirement of the prophetic terms being thus historically satisfied up to "they stood upon their feet," those and the subsequent terms now present themselves for consideration ; but as the commencement of the events foreshown is referred to the year 1530, by the events already before us occurring in 1527, and also by Mosheim's testimony previously given, the leading circumstances which occurred in addition to those recounted, during the three and a half years preceding, although not required for prophetic illustration, cannot well be omitted without injury to the thread of our narrative.

Mosheim's shorter accounts of these events, related circumstantially and at great length by D'Aubigné, will suffice for our purpose. He says, continuing from the Diet of Spire, in 1526 :—

“But the tranquillity and liberty the Reformers enjoyed, in consequence of the resolutions taken in the first Diet of Spires were not of a long duration. They were interrupted by a new Diet, assembled in the year 1529, in the same place by the emperor, after he had appeased the commotions and troubles which had employed his attention in several parts of Europe, and concluded a treaty of peace with Clement VII. This prince, having now got rid of the burden that had for some time overwhelmed him, had leisure to direct the affairs of the church; and this the Reformers soon felt by a disagreeable experience.”

Charles, it will be seen, plays his assigned part to perfection. When required to become his enemy and to kill his former ally, he does so; when required again to become his friend and to reanimate him, this change of character recorded by the historian, leads us to assume that he will do this also.

Mosheim continues:—“For the power which had been granted by the former Diet to every prince, of managing ecclesiastical matters, as they thought proper, until a meeting of a general council, was now revoked by a majority of votes; and not only so, but every change was declared unlawful that should be introduced into the doctrine, discipline, or worship of the established religion, before the determination of the approaching council was known. This decree was justly considered as iniquitous and intolerable by the Elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, and the other members of the Diet, who were persuaded of the necessity of a reformation in the church. Nor was any one of them so simple or so little acquainted with the politics of Rome, as to look upon the promises of assembling speedily a general council, in any other light than as an artifice to quiet the minds of the people; since it was easy to perceive, that a lawful council, free from the despotic influence of Rome, was the very last thing that a pope would grant in such a critical situation of affairs. Therefore, when the princes and members now mentioned found that all their arguments and remonstrances against this unjust decree made no impression upon Ferdinand, nor upon the abettors of the ancient superstitions

(whom the pope's legate animated by his presence and exhortations), they entered a solemn *protest* against this decree on the 19th April, and appealed to the emperor and to a future council. Hence arose the denomination of *Protestants*, which from this period has been given to those who renounce the superstitious communion of the church of Rome.

“The dissenting princes, who were the protectors and heads of the Reformed churches, had no sooner entered their *protest*, than they sent proper persons to the emperor, who was then upon his passage from Spain to Italy, to acquaint him with their proceedings in this matter. The ministers employed in this commission executed the orders they had received with the greatest resolution and presence of mind, and behaved with the spirit and firmness of the princes, whose sentiments and conduct they were sent to justify and explain. The emperor whose pride was wounded by this fortitude in persons who dared to oppose his designs, ordered these ambassadors to be apprehended and put under arrest during several days.

“The news of this violent step was soon brought to the Protestant princes, and made them conclude that their personal safety and the success of their cause depended entirely upon their courage and concord, the one animated, and the other cemented, by a solemn confederacy. They, therefore, held several meetings at Rot, Nuremberg, Smalcald, and other places, in order to deliberate upon the means of forming such a powerful league, as might enable them to repel the violence of their enemies. But so different were their opinions and views of things, that they could come to no satisfactory conclusion.

“The ministers of the churches which had embraced the sentiments of Luther, were preparing a new embassy to the emperor, when an account was received of a design formed by that prince to come into Germany, with a view to terminate, in the approaching Diet at Augsburg, the religious disputes that had produced such animosities and divisions in the empire. Charles, though long absent from Germany, and engaged in affairs that left him little leisure for theological disquisitions, was, nevertheless, attentive to these

disputes, and foresaw their consequences. He had, also, to his own deliberate reflections upon these disputes, added the counsels of men of wisdom, sagacity and experience, and was thus, at certain seasons, rendered more cool in his proceedings, and more moderate and impartial in his opinion both of the contending parties and of the merits of the cause. He, therefore, in an interview with the pope at Bologna, insisted, in the most serious and urgent manner, upon the necessity of assembling a general council. His remonstrances and expostulations could not, however, move Clement VII., who maintained with zeal the papal prerogatives, reproached the emperor with an ill-judged clemency, and alleged that it was the duty of that prince to support the church, and to execute speedy vengeance upon the obstinate *heretical* faction, who dared to call in question the authority of Rome, and its pontiff. The emperor was as little affected by this haughty discourse, as the pope had been by his wise remonstrances, and looked upon it as a most iniquitous thing, a measure also in direct opposition to the laws of the empire, to condemn unheard, and to destroy, without any evidence of their demerit, a set of men, who had always approved themselves good citizens, and had deserved well of their country in several respects. Hitherto, indeed, it was not easy for the emperor to form a clear idea of the matters in debate, since there was no regular system as yet composed of the doctrines embraced by Luther and his followers, by which their real opinions, and the true causes of their opposition to the Roman pontiff, might be known with certainty. As, therefore, it was impossible, without some declaration of this nature, to examine with accuracy or to decide with equity a matter of such high importance as that which gave rise to the divisions between the votaries of Rome and the friends of the Reformation, the Elector of Saxony ordered Luther, and other eminent divines, to commit in writing the chief articles of their religious system, and the principal points in which they differed from the church of Rome. Luther, in compliance with this order, delivered to the Elector at Torgaw the seventeen articles, which had been drawn up and agreed on

in the conference at Sulzbach in the year 1529; and hence they were called *the Articles of Torgaw*.

“ Though these articles were deemed by Luther a sufficient declaration of the sentiments of the Reformers, yet it was judged proper to enlarge them; and, by a judicious detail, to give perspicuity to their arguments, and thereby strength to their cause. It was this consideration that engaged the Protestant princes, assembled at Coburg and Augsburg, to employ Melancthon in extending these *Articles*, in which important work he showed a due regard to the counsels of Luther, and expressed his sentiments and doctrine with the greatest elegance and perspicuity. And thus came forth to public view the famous *Confession of Augsburg*, which did such honour to the acute judgment and eloquent pen of Melancthon.”

The historian then proceeds with the account, already quoted, of the progress of the Reformation in other European states, at the termination of which, it will be remembered, he exhibited the papacy and its hierarchy of priests in the lifeless state foreshown by the prophecy, and, at the same time, foreshadowed their, also foreshown, re-animation by the power of the secular arm; and as this picture was drawn to pourtray the state of the visible professing church just prior to the opening of the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, we were led to assume that this re-animation would be first manifested at that Diet; a position supported by the historian having just prepared us for seeing Charles V. acting no longer as the enemy of that church, but again as her patron and protector.

Thus all our historic testimonies converge in applying to the year 1530 the termination of the prophetic three and a half days, and, therefore, the commencing period of the fulfilment of the terms, “ And they stood upon their feet; ” and as these terms, as before stated, announce a new series of events, and, by the renewal of the figurations by visible representation, that the events foreshown by the previous parts of the prophecy would, at this point, be completed; so, on turning to our review of the requirements of the latter from history, set forth at the commencement of this lecture,

we find that in every respect those requirements have been historically satisfied, not only generally, but also with the utmost precision, both by the order of time and by a fatuity of events so strange as to call forth special remark from those living at the time, from most historians, and to be explained only by the exigencies of the prophecy which had foreshown them.

We have seen that, in the latter half of the third century, the pagan church and priests persecuted and oppressed the true church under circumstances so peculiar as to enable us to identify it, may we not say with certainty ("consistently" is the term used in our review)? as the commencement of the notified period of 1260 years. We have seen that they continued this oppression up to the time of their power being subverted and absorbed by the Roman church, under the name of Christian, and that the oppression of the true church was continued by this professing Christian Roman church and her priests until the first half of the sixteenth century. We have seen that up to this time she was believed to be the true church in accordance with her name and profession, and that, at this time, she was stripped of her assumed character, and exposed in her true character of the enemy and persecutor of the church, which she herself professed to be. We have also seen that at the expiration of the predicted 1260 years, that is also at this time, the true church was invested with power to inflict punishment on her persecutor, the exercise of which was manifested by her use of the holy Scriptures, and, conjointly with the Turks and Charles V., made war on the professing church, humiliated her, subverted her authority, and deprived her of spiritual power, a state in which she remained for three and a half years, commencing in 1527, and terminating in 1530.

A more precise definition of this period will be doubtless apparent, when we reach the event by which its termination is marked. The correspondence between history and revelation being, up to this point, again manifest, it may be observed, that our structure has received an immense accession of size and strength from the test applied to the fitness

and quality of our historic materials by a prophecy, the construction of which is as remarkable for its comprehensiveness, as for its inflexibility; and, at the same time, for a combination of simplicity and disguised force, which, whilst proclaiming God to be its author, reserves to itself to fulfil the promise “Seek, and ye shall find,” to those only who are obedient to the divine injunction.

The completion of the illustrations of the prophecy up to the end of the revelation, communicated to John conversationally, suggests this as a fitting point to close the present lecture. We shall, therefore, postpone the continuation of our subject to the fourteenth and last lecture of the first series, in which the proceedings at the Diet of Augsburg will first engage our attention; in the meantime, remembering that we have been led to expect, as their result, the reanimation of the prostrate Romish church and her priests under the favour and protection of the emperor CHARLES THE FIFTH.

LECTURE XIV.

THE SIXTH TRUMPET.

Fourth Part continued.

Rev. xi. 11 to 14. A.D. 1530—1685.

HAVING, in our last lecture, seen history in perfect correspondence with the indications of the prophecy up to the end of the revelations made to John verbally, we must now proceed with the historic illustrations of the terms, commencing with “And after three days and an half, the spirit of God entered into them, and they stood upon their feet,” and continued to the end of the sixth trumpet’s voice, by “And great fear fell upon them which saw them. And they heard a great voice from heaven, saying unto them, Come up hither. And they ascended up to heaven in a cloud, and their enemies beheld them. And the same hour was there a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the city fell, and in the earthquake were slain of men seven thousand: and the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven. The second woe is past, and behold, the third woe cometh quickly.”

These terms were interpreted in the former lecture to indicate—That at the invitation and under the favour and protection of the secular power which had degraded her (the representative head of which power we have now seen to be Charles V.), the visible professing church again assumed her dominant position to the great dismay of the true church; that this was immediately followed by a great revolution; that the yoke of the visible professing church was cast off, first by an important part, and subsequently by a less important part, of her ecclesiastical dominions; and that the remaining part maintained their allegiance to her, and gave their power to her supreme head, under the influence of fear only. Also, that those events almost immediately

preceded those subsequently found to correspond with the prophecy announced by the angel sounding the seventh trumpet. The bases of these interpretations, which we have now to verify, it will be remembered, were fully set forth in the early part of the previous lecture; and as, at its close, it was stated that the proceedings at the Diet of Augsburg would be the first subject to engage our attention, so we have now to see what history reveals to us in relation thereto.

Dr. Mosheim's second chapter concludes with the intensely illustrative testimony to the lifeless state of the papacy and its hierarchy of priests, at the expiration of the three and a half years allotted by the prophecy as the term of her prostration, which, although quoted in our previous lecture, we may now repeat as introducing, with the effect designed by the historian, the events narrated in his third chapter, and at the same time to give due importance to the reanimation of the papacy foretold by the prophecy, and which we find recorded therein. He says, "It is, indeed, certain, and the Roman Catholics themselves acknowledge it without hesitation, that the papal doctrines, jurisdiction, and authority would have fallen into ruin in all parts of the world" (would have been put in graves), "had not the force of the secular arm been employed to support the tottering edifice" (had they not heard a great voice from heaven, saying, Come up hither), "and fire and sword been let loose upon those who were assailing it only with reason and argument."

Mosheim then says, in continuation, "Charles V. arrived at Augsburg, the 15th June, 1530, and on the 20th day of the same month, the Diet was opened."

We must now interrupt Mosheim's account for a moment to record an interesting and remarkably illustrative event, which took place in February, 1530, and which is thus narrated by D'Aubigné, in book 14, ch. ii.:—"Charles, like Charlemagne in former times, and Napoleon in later days, desired to be crowned by the pope, and had at first thought of visiting Rome for that purpose; but Ferdinand's pressing letters compelled him to choose Bologna. He appointed the 22nd February, 1530, for receiving the iron crown as king

of Lombardy, and resolved to assume the golden crown as emperor of the Romans, on the 24th of the same month—his birthday, and the anniversary of the battle of Pavia, and which he thought was always fortunate to him.

“The offices of honour that belonged to the electors of the empire were given to strangers; in the coronation of the emperor of Germany all was Spanish or Italian. The sceptre was carried by the marquis of Montferrat, the sword by the duke of Urbino, and the golden crown by the duke of Savoy. One single German prince, of little importance, the count-palatine Philip, was present; he carried the orb. After these lords came the emperor himself between two cardinals; then the members of his council. All this procession defiled across a magnificent temporary bridge erected between the palace and the church. At the very moment the emperor drew near the church of San Petronio, where the coronation was to take place, the scaffolding cracked behind him and gave way; many of his train were wounded, and the multitude fled in alarm. Charles calmly turned back and smiled, not doubting that his lucky star had saved him.

“At length Charles V. arrived in front of the throne on which Clement was seated. But, before being made emperor, it was necessary that he should be promoted to the sacred orders. The pope presented him with the surplice and the amice to make him a canon of St. Peter's, and of St. John Lateranus, and the canons of these two churches immediately stripped him of his royal ornaments, and robed him with the sacerdotal garments. The pope went to the altar and began mass, the new canon drawing near to wait upon him. After the offertory, the imperial deacon presented the water to the pontiff; and then, kneeling down between two cardinals, he communicated from the pope's hand. The emperor now returned to his throne, where the princes robed him with the imperial mantle brought from Constantinople, all sparkling with diamonds, and Charles humbly bent the knee before Clement VII.

“The pontiff, having anointed him with oil and given him the sceptre, presented him with a naked sword, saying, ‘Make

use of it in defence of the church against the enemies of the faith!’ Next, taking the golden orb, studded with jewels, which the count-palatine held, he said, ‘Govern the world with piety and firmness!’ Last came the duke of Savoy, who carried the golden crown, enriched with diamonds. The prince bent down, and Clement put the diadem on his head, saying, ‘Charles, emperor invincible, receive this crown which we place upon your head, as a sign to all the earth of the authority that is conferred upon you.’

“The emperor then kissed the white cross embroidered on the pope’s red slipper, and exclaimed, ‘*I swear to be, with all my powers and resources, the perpetual defender of the pontifical dignity and of the church of Rome.*’” The spirit of the supreme head of the empire thus entered into the professing visible church and her hierarchy of priests, and “they stood upon their feet.”

As this event is foretold to take place after an interval of three years and a half from the time of her prostration, and is marked by the emperor publicly proclaiming himself to be again the friend of that church, we naturally turn to see the date of the event which proclaimed Charles V. to be its enemy in opposition to his former antecedents, and at p. 421 of our history we find:—“Charles did not hesitate. He wheeled to the right as quickly as the pope had done to the left.” Then followed the recess of the Diet, dated 17th August, 1526, on which the following remarks were made by D’Aubigné:—“The Diet of 1526 forms an important epoch in history; an ancient power, that of the middle ages, is shaken; a new power, that of modern times, is advancing; religious liberty boldly takes its stand in front of Romish despotism; a lay spirit prevails over the sacerdotal spirit. In this single step there is a complete victory, the cause of the reform is won.”

The interval between the two events, thus emphatically marked, being three years and a half, the one being in August, 1526, and the other in February, 1530, it will be seen that the precise definition of the three and a half prophetic days, referred to at the close of our last lecture, is now supplied.

It will be remembered that the effect of the emperor's "turning to the right as quickly as the pope had done to the left," in 1526, was the sack of Rome and degradation of the Romish church; the effect of the emperor's coronation oath, in 1530, we have yet to learn; D'Aubigné, however, seems to have recognised its accordance with the prophetic announcement, for he says, in continuation of his record of that event:—

"The two princes now took their seats under the same canopy, but on thrones of unequal height, the emperor's being half a foot lower than the pontiff's, and the cardinal-deacon proclaimed to the people 'The invincible emperor, Defender of the Faith.' For the next half-hour nothing was heard but the noise of musketry, trumpets, drums, and fifes, all the bells of the city, and the shouts of the multitude. Thus was proclaimed *anew* the close union of politics with religion. The mighty emperor, transformed to a Roman deacon and humbly serving mass, like a canon of St. Peter's, had typified and declared *the indissoluble union of the Romish church with the State*. This is one of the essential doctrines of popery, and one of the most striking characteristics that distinguish it from the evangelical and the Christian church.

"Scarcely had Charles V. risen from before the altar of San Petronio, ere he turned his face towards Germany, and *appeared on the Alps as the anointed of the papacy*. The letter of convocation" (which will be presently again alluded to), "so indulgent and benign, seemed forgotten: all things were made new since the pope's blessings; there was but one thought in the imperial train, the necessity of rigorous measures; and the legate, Campeggio, ceased not to insinuate irritating words into Charles's ear. 'At the first rumour of the storm that threatens them,' said Granvelle, 'we shall see the Protestants flying on every side, like timid doves upon which the Alpine eagle pounces.'"

And so it was. The prophecy says: "And great fear fell on them which saw them," and D'Aubigné says, in continuation:—"Great indeed was the alarm throughout the empire; already even the affrighted people, apprehending the greatest disasters, repeated everywhere that Luther and

Melancthon were dead. ‘Alas!’ said Melancthon, consumed by sorrow, when he heard these reports, ‘the rumour is but too true, for I die daily.’ But Luther, on the contrary, boldly raising the eye of faith towards heaven, exclaimed: ‘Our enemies triumph, but ere long to perish.’

The letter of convocation alluded to above by the historian has much illustrative force. The spirit of its contents being quite opposed to the public declaration of Charles V. in favour of the papacy, confirmed, moreover, by an oath, such a letter dated only one month earlier, and therefore immediately before the termination of the three and a half years of his acting the character of “The beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit” in hostility to the papacy, fills in our historic picture to perfection. It is thus recorded by D’Aubigné:—“On the 21st January, 1530, Charles had summoned all the states of the empire to Augsburg, and had endeavoured to employ the most conciliatory language. ‘Let us put an end to all discord,’ he said, ‘let us renounce our antipathies; let us offer to our Saviour the sacrifice of all our errors; let us make it our business to comprehend and weigh with meekness the opinions of others. Let us annihilate all that has been said or done on both sides contrary to right, and let us seek after Christian truth. Let us all fight under one and the same leader, Jesus Christ, and let us strive thus to meet in one communion, one church, and one unity.’”

D’Aubigné, surprised, then exclaims, “What language! How was it that this prince, who hitherto had spoken only of the sword, should now speak only of peace?” He then endeavours to account for it by several probabilities, which we need not enumerate, the prophecy having already sufficiently enlightened us.

Having now seen Charles V. again the friend of the visible professing church, and prepared to cast over her the mantle of his imperial favour and protection, represented by the Apocalyptic cloud, we may resume Mosheim’s condensed account of the proceedings at the Diet of Augsburg; the next terms requiring historic illustration being, “And they heard a great voice from heaven, saying, Come up hither;

and they ascended up to heaven in a cloud, and their enemies beheld them."

It will be remembered that Mosheim has announced the opening of the Diet on the 20th June, 1530. He then says, in continuation:—"As it was unanimously agreed that the affairs of religion should be brought upon the carpet before the deliberations relating to the intended war with the Turks, the *Protestant* members of this great assembly received from the emperor a formal permission to present to the Diet, on the 25th June, an account of their religious principles and tenets. In consequence of this, Christian Bayer, chancellor of Saxony, read, in the German language, in the presence of the emperor and the assembled princes, the famous confession, which has since been distinguished by the denomination of the *Confession of Augsburg*. The princes heard it with the deepest attention and recollection of mind; it confirmed some in the principles they had embraced, surprised others, and many, who, before this time, had little or no idea of the religious sentiments of Luther, were now not only convinced of their innocence, but were, moreover, delighted with their purity and simplicity."

On this subject, D'Aubigné says, "The Romanists had expected nothing like this. Instead of a hateful controversy, they had heard a striking confession of Jesus Christ; the most hostile minds were consequently disarmed. 'We would not for a great deal,' was the remark on every side, 'have missed being present at this reading.' The effect was so prompt, that for an instant the cause was thought to be definitely gained. The bishops themselves imposed silence on the sophisms and clamours of the Fabers and the Ecks. 'All that the Lutherans have said is true,' exclaimed the bishop of Augsburg; 'we cannot deny it.' 'Well, doctor,' said the duke of Bavaria to Eck, in a reproachful tone, 'you had given me a very different idea of this doctrine and of this affair. This was the general cry; accordingly, the sophists, as they called them, were embarrassed. 'But, after all,' said the duke of Bavaria to them, 'can you refute by sound reasons the confession made by the elector and his allies?' 'With the writings of the apostles and prophets—

No!’ replied Eck; ‘but with those of the fathers and of the councils—Yes!’ ‘I understand,’ quickly replied the duke; ‘I understand. The Lutherans, according to you, are in Scripture; and we are outside.’”

Mosheim continues:—“The tenor and contents of the confession of Augsburg are well known; since that confession was adopted by the whole body of the *Protestants* as the rule of their faith. The copies of this confession, which, after being read, were delivered to the emperor, were signed and subscribed by John, elector of Saxony, by four princes of the empire, George, marquis of Brandenburg, Ernest, duke of Luneberg, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt, and by the imperial cities of Nuremberg and Reutlingen, who all thereby solemnly declared their assent to the doctrines contained in it. Its style is plain, elegant, grave and perspicuous, such as becomes the nature of the subject, and such as might be expected from the admirable pen of Melancthon. The *matter* was undoubtedly supplied by Luther, who, during the Diet, resided at Coburg, a town in the neighbourhood of Augsburg; and, even the form it received from the eloquent pen of his colleague, was authorised in consequence of his approbation and advice. This *confession* contains twenty-eight chapters, of which the greatest part are employed in representing, with perspicuity and truth, the religious opinions of the Protestants,” in accordance with the prophetic instruction, “Rise, and measure the temple of God”; “and the rest in pointing out the errors and abuses that occasioned their separation from the church of Rome,” in accordance with the prophetic instruction, “But the court which is without the temple leave out.”

“The creatures of the Roman pontiff who were present at this Diet, employed John Faber, afterwards bishop of Vienna, together with Eckius, and another doctor, named Cochläus, to draw up a refutation of this famous confession. This pretended refutation, having been read publicly in the assembly, the emperor demanded of the Protestant members that they should acquiesce in it, and put an end to their religious debates by an unlimited submission to the doctrines and opinions contained in this answer. But this demand

was far from being complied with. The Protestants declared, on the contrary, that they were by no means satisfied with the reply of their adversaries, and earnestly desired a copy of it, that they might demonstrate more fully its extreme insufficiency and weakness. This reasonable request was refused by the emperor, who, on this occasion, as well as on several others, showed more regard to the importunity of the pope's legate and his party, than to the demands of equity, candour, and justice. He even interposed *his supreme authority* to suspend any further proceeding in this matter, and solemnly prohibited the publication of any new writings or declarations that might contribute to lengthen out these religious debates. This, however, did not reduce the Protestants to silence. The divines of that communion, who had been present at the Diet, endeavoured to recollect the arguments and objections employed by Faber, and had again recourse to the pen of Melancthon, who refuted them in an ample and satisfactory manner, in a learned piece that was presented to the emperor on the 22nd September, but which that prince refused to receive. This *answer* was afterwards enlarged by Melancthon, when he had obtained a copy of Faber's reply, and was published in the year 1531, with the other pieces that related to the doctrine and discipline of the Lutheran church, under the title of *A defence of the Confession of Augsburg*.

“There were only three ways left of bringing to a conclusion these religious differences, which it was in reality most difficult to reconcile. The first, and the most rational method, was to grant to those who refused to submit to the doctrine and jurisdiction of Rome, the liberty of following their private judgment in matters of a religious nature, the privilege of serving God according to the dictates of their conscience, and all this in such a manner that the public tranquillity should not be disturbed. The second, and, at the same time, the shortest and most iniquitous expedient, was to end these dissensions by military apostles, who, sword in hand, should force the Protestants to return to the bosom of the church, and to court the papal yoke, which they had so magnanimously thrown off their necks. Some thought of a

middle way, and proposed that a reconciliation should be made upon fair, candid, and equitable terms, by engaging each of the contending parties to temper their zeal with moderation, to abate reciprocally the rigour of their pretensions, and remit something of their respective claims.

“This method was highly approved by several wise and good men on both sides; but it was ill-suited to the arrogant ambition of the Roman pontiff, and the superstitious ignorance of the times, which beheld with horror whatever tended to introduce the sweets of religious liberty, or the exercise of private judgment. The second method, even the use of violence and the terrors of the sword, was more agreeable to the spirit and sentiments of the age, and was peculiarly suited to the despotic genius and sanguinary counsels of the court of Rome; but the emperor had prudence and equity enough to make him reject it, and it appeared shocking to those who were not lost to all sentiments of justice or moderation. The third expedient was, therefore, most generally approved of; it was peculiarly agreeable to all who were zealous for the interests and tranquillity of the empire, nor did the Roman pontiff seem to look upon it either with aversion or contempt. Hence, various conferences were held between persons of eminence, piety, and learning, who were chosen for that purpose from both sides; and nothing was omitted that might have the least tendency to calm the animosity, heal the divisions, and unite the hearts of the contending parties; but all to no purpose, since the difference between their opinions,” one party representing the inner court of the temple, and the other party the outer court worshippers, “was too considerable, and of too much importance to admit of a reconciliation. It was in these conferences that the spirit and character of Melancthon appeared in their true and genuine colours; and it was here that the votaries of Rome exhausted their efforts to gain over to their party this pillar of the Reformation, whose abilities and virtues added such a lustre to the Protestant cause. This humane and gentle spirit was apt to sink into a kind of yielding softness under the influence of mild and generous treatment. And, accordingly, while his adversaries soothed

him with fair words and flattering promises, he seemed to melt as they spoke, and, in some measure to comply with their demands; but when they so far forgot themselves as to make use of imperious language and menacing terms, then did Melancthon appear in a very different point of light; then a spirit of intrepidity, ardour, and independence animated all his words and actions, and he looked down with contempt on the threats of power, the frowns of fortune, and the fear of death. The truth is, that in this great and good man, a soft and yielding temper was joined with the most inviolable fidelity, and the most invincible attachment to the truth.

“This reconciling method of terminating the religious debates between the friends of liberty and the votaries of Rome proving ineffectual, the latter had recourse to other measures, which were suited to the iniquity of the times, though they were equally disavowed by the dictates of reason and the precepts of the gospel. These measures were the force of the secular arm, and the authority of imperial edicts.

“*On the 19th day of November a severe decree was issued out by the express order of the emperor,*” (a great voice from heaven) “during the absence of the Hessian and Saxon princes who were the chief supporters of the Protestant cause; and in this decree everything was manifestly adapted to deject the friends of religious liberty, if we except a faint and dubious promise of engaging the pope to assemble (in about six months after the separation of the Diet) a general council. *The dignity and excellence of the papal religion are extolled beyond measure in this partial decree; a new decree of severity and force added to that which had been published at Worms against Luther and his adherents; the changes that had been introduced into the doctrine and discipline of the Protestant churches severely censured; and a solemn order addressed to the princes, states, and cities that had thrown off the papal yoke, to return to their duty and their allegiance to Rome, on pain of incurring the indignation and vengeance of the emperor as the patron and protector of the church.*

“To give the greater degree of weight to this edict, it was

resolved that no judge who refused to approve and subscribe its contents should be admitted into the imperial chamber of Spires, which is the supreme court in Germany. The emperor also, and the popish princes engaged themselves to employ their united forces, in order to maintain its authority and to promote its execution."

Thus the historian shows us that the visible professing church heard "a great voice" from the imperial throne, saying, "Come up hither," and saw, in the favour and protection of Charles V., the Apocalyptic cloud prepared to cover her re-ascent to a dominant position in her ecclesiastical dominions. And on turning to D'Aubigné for confirmation, we find, at the close of the Diet of Augsburg, the significant heading "Restoration of Popery." As this is so much to our purpose, we must extract his testimony. He says:—

"At three o'clock in the afternoon the Elector of Saxony, accompanied by the dukes of Luneburg, and the princes of Anhalt, quitted the walls of Augsburg. 'God be praised,' said Luther, 'that our dear prince is at last out of hell.'

"As he saw these intrepid princes thus escaping from his hands, Charles V. gave way to a violence that was not usual with him. 'They want to teach me a new faith,' cried he, 'but it is not with the doctrine that we shall finish this matter; we must draw the sword, and then shall we see who is the strongest.' All around him gave way to their indignation.

"On the 4th of October, 1530, Charles V. wrote to the pope; for it was from Rome that the new crusade was to set out: 'The negotiations are broken off, our adversaries are more obstinate than ever, and I am resolved to employ my strength and my person in combating them. For this reason I beg your holiness will demand the support of all Christian princes.'

"The enterprise began in Augsburg itself. The day on which he wrote to the pope, Charles, in honour of St. Francis of Assisi, whose feast it was, re-established the Cordeliers in that city, and a monk, ascending the pulpit, said, 'All those who preach that Jesus Christ alone has made satisfaction for our sins, and that God saves us without regard to our

works, are thorough scoundrels. There are, on the contrary, two roads to salvation; the common road, namely, the observance of the commandments; and the perfect road—namely, the ecclesiastical state.’ Scarcely was the sermon finished ere the congregation began to remove the benches placed in the church for the evangelical preaching, breaking them violently (for they were fixed with chains), and throwing them one upon another. Within these consecrated walls two monks, in particular, armed with hammers and pincers, tossed their arms, and shouted liked men possessed. ‘From their frightful uproar,’ exclaimed some, ‘one would imagine they were pulling down a house.’ It was, in truth, the house of God they wished to begin destroying. After the tumult was appeased they sang mass. As soon as this was concluded, a Spaniard desired to recommence breaking the benches, and on being prevented by one of the citizens, they began to hurl chairs at each other; one of the monks, leaving the choir, ran up to them and was soon dragged into the fray: at length the captain of police arrived with his men, who distributed their well-directed blows on every side. *Thus began in Germany the restoration of Roman Catholicism: popular violence has often been one of its most powerful allies.”*

D’Aubigné then announces the union of the Lutheran and Zuinglian cities; ‘Let us unite,’ said all, ‘for the consolation of our brethren and the terror of our enemies.’ In vain did Charles, who was intent on keeping up division among the protestants, convoke the deputies of the Zuinglian cities; in vain did he overwhelm them with fierce threats; all his efforts were useless. At length the evangelical party was one.

“Nothing remained but to draw the sword; and for that Charles made every preparation. On October 25th, he wrote to the cardinals at Rome: ‘We inform you that we shall spare neither kingdoms nor lordships; and that we shall venture even our soul and our body to complete such necessary matters.’

“Scarcely had Charles’s letter been received, before his major-domo arrived in Rome by express. ‘The season is now too far advanced to attack the Lutherans immediately,’

said he to the pope, ‘but prepare everything for this enterprise. His majesty thinks it his duty to prefer before all things the accomplishment of your designs.’ Thus Clement and the emperor were also united”—the spirit of the latter had entered into the former—“and both sides began to concentrate their forces.

“On the evening of the 11th November, the *recess* was read to the Protestant deputies, and on the 12th they rejected it, declaring they did not acknowledge the emperor’s power to command in matters of faith. The deputies of Hesse and of Saxony departed immediately after, and *on the 19th November* the recess was solemnly read in the presence of Charles V., and of the princes and deputies who were still in Augsburg. This report was more hostile than the project communicated to the protestants. ‘We beg his majesty,’ said the elector Joachim, after it was read, ‘not to leave Germany, *until by his cares one sole and same faith be RE-ESTABLISHED in all the empire.*’ The emperor replied, that he would not go further than his estates of the Low Countries. They desired that deeds should follow close upon words.

“The emperor’s ministers and officers, excited by the pope, displayed the utmost energy. The states of the empire were bound to furnish Charles, for three years, 40,000 foot, 8,000 horse, and a considerable sum of money; the margrave Henry of Zenete, the count of Nassau, and other nobles, made considerable levies on the side of the Rhine; a captain going through the Black Forest called its rude inhabitants to his standard, and there enrolled six companies of lansquenets; king Ferdinand had written to all the knights of the Tyrol and of Wurtemberg to gird on their cuirasses and take down their swords; Joachim of Palheim collected the Spanish bands in the Low Countries, and ordered them towards the Rhine; Peter Scher solicited from the duke of Lorraine the aid of his arms; and another chief hastily moved the Spanish army of Florence in the direction of the Alps. There was every reason to fear that the Germans, even the Roman Catholics, would take Luther’s

part; and hence principally foreign troops were levied. Nothing but war was talked of in Augsburg."

Not only in Germany was the reanimation of the papacy apparent. In D'Aubigné's history of the Reformation in Switzerland and under the same significant head, "Restoration of popery," and at the same period, we find him saying:—"The whole of the Reformation was comprised. Scarcely had Ferdinand received intelligence of the death of the arch-heretic Zwingli" (Zuinglius), "and of the defeat at Cappel, than, with an exclamation of joy, he forwarded these good news to his brother Charles the Fifth, saying, 'This is the first of the victories destined to restore the faith.' After the defeat at the Gaubel, he wrote again, saying that if the emperor were not so near at hand, he would not hesitate, however weak he might be, to rush forward in person, sword in hand, to terminate so righteous an enterprise. 'Remember,' said he, 'that you are the first prince in Christendom, and that you will never have a better opportunity of covering yourself with glory. Assist the cantons with your troops; the German sects will perish when they are no longer supported by heretical Switzerland.' 'The more I reflect,' replied Charles, 'the more I am pleased with your advice. The imperial dignity with which I am invested, *the protection that I owe to Christendom* and to public order, in a word—the safety of the house of Austria, everything appeals to me.'

"Already about two thousand Italian soldiers, sent by the pope, had unfolded their seven standards, and united near Zug with the army of the Five Cantons. Auxiliary troops, diplomatic negotiations, and even missionaries to convert the heretics, were not spared. The bishop of Veroli arrived in Switzerland in order to bring back the Lutherans to the Roman faith by means of his friends and of his money. The Roman politicians hailed the victory at Cappel as the signal of *the restoration of the papal authority*," of their again standing on their feet, "not only in Switzerland, but throughout the whole of Christendom. At last this presumptuous Reformation was about to be repressed. Instead

of the great deliverance of which Zwingli had dreamt, the imperial eagle let loose by the papacy, was about to pounce on all Europe, and strangle it in its talons. The cause of liberty had perished on the Albis.

“Everything seemed advancing towards a grand catastrophe. The Tockenburgers made peace, and retired. The Thurgovians followed them; and next the people of Gaster. The evangelical army was thus gradually disbanded. The severity of the season was added to these dissensions. Continual storms of wind and rain drove the soldiers to their homes. Upon this the Five Cantons, with the undisciplined bands of the Italian general threw themselves on the left bank of the lake of Zurich. The alarm-bell was rung on every side; the peasants retired in crowds into the city with their weeping wives, their frightened children” (“great fear fell on them which saw them”), “and their cattle that filled the air with sullen lowings. A report, too, was circulated that the enemy intended laying siege to Zurich.” It may be observed, that had Mahomet not withdrawn from Hungary in 1529, as already mentioned, this reanimation of the papal power would have been prevented. “The country-people in alarm declared that if the city refused to make terms, they would treat on their own account.

“The peace party prevailed in the council; deputies were elected to negotiate. ‘Above all things preserve the gospel, and then our honour, as far as may be possible!’ Such were their instructions. On the 16th November, 1530, the deputies from Zurich arrived in a meadow situated near the frontier, in which the deputies of the Five Cantons awaited them. They proceeded to the deliberations. ‘In the name of the most honourable, holy, and divine Trinity,’ began the treaty, ‘Firstly, we the people of Zurich bind ourselves and agree to leave our trusty and well-beloved confederates of the Five Cantons, their well-beloved co-burghers of the Valais, and all their adherents, lay and ecclesiastic, in their true and indubitable Christian faith, renouncing all evil intentions, wiles, and stratagems. And, on our side, we of the Five Cantons, agree to leave our confederates of Zurich and their allies in possession of their faith.’ At the same time

Rapperschwyl, Gaster, Wesen, Bremgarten, Mellingen, and the common bailiwicks were abandoned to the Five Cantons.

“Zurich had preserved its faith; and that was all. Shortly after a similar treaty was concluded with Berne. *The restoration of popery immediately commenced in Switzerland, and Rome showed herself everywhere, proud, exacting, and ambitious.* After the battle of Cappel, the Romish minority at Glaris had assumed the upper hand. It marched with Schwytz against Wesen, and the district of the Gaster. On the eve of the invasion, at midnight, twelve deputies came and threw themselves at the feet of the Schwytzer chiefs, who were satisfied with confiscating the national banners of these two districts, with suppressing their tribunals, annulling their ancient liberties, and condemning some to banishment, and others to pay a heavy fine. Next *the mass, the altars, and images were everywhere re-established,* and exist until the present day. Such was the pardon of Schwytz.

“It was especially on Bremgarten, Mellingen, and the free bailiwicks that the Cantons proposed to inflict a terrible vengeance. The Swiss and Italian bands entered furiously into these flourishing districts, brandishing their weapons, inflicting heavy fines on all the inhabitants, *compelling the gospel ministers to flee, and restoring everywhere, at the point of the sword, mass, idols, and altars.*

“On the other side of the lake the misfortune was still greater. *On the 18th November,* while the Reformed of Rapperschwyl were sleeping peacefully in reliance on the treaties, an army from Schwytz silently passed the wooden bridge, nearly 2,000 feet long, which crosses the lake, and was admitted into the city by the Romish party. On a sudden, the Reformed awoke at the loud pealing of the bells and the tumultuous voices of the Catholics: the greater part quitted the city. One of them, however, barricaded his house, placed arquebuses at every window, and repelled the attack. The exasperated enemy brought up some heavy pieces of artillery, besieged this extemporaneous citadel in regular form, and its defender was soon taken and put to death in the midst of horrible tortures.

“Nowhere had the struggle been more violent than at

Soleure. Seventy evangelical families were obliged to emigrate, and Soleure *returned under the papal yoke*.

“The deserted cells of St. Gall, Muri, Einsidlen, Wettin-gen, Rheinau, St. Catherine, Hermetschwyl, and Guaden-thall witnessed the triumphant return of Benedictines, Franciscans, Dominicans, and all the Romish militia; priests and monks, intoxicated with their victory, overran country and town, and prepared for new conquests.

“The wind of adversity was blowing with fury, *the evangelical churches fell one after another*. The Five Cantons, full of gratitude to the Virgin, made a solemn pilgrimage to her temple at Einsidlen. The chaplains celebrated anew their mysteries in this desolated sanctuary; the abbot, who had no monks, sent a number of youths into Swabia, to be trained up in the rules of the order, and this famous chapel, which Zwingli’s voice had converted into a sanctuary for the word, became for Switzerland, what it has remained until this day, the centre of the power and of the intrigues of the papacy.” Everywhere in Switzerland, “they stood upon their feet,” and as in Germany, so its outward sign is also manifested in November, 1530.

Thus the most interesting correspondence with revelation still attends our history. The papacy has been shown to have again assumed a dominant position at the invitation and under the favour and protection of Charles V., and this at the expiration of three and a half years from the time of its degradation, precisely as indicated by the terms of the prophecy foreshowing it.

An interesting chronological feature is also exhibited, which must not be unnoticed. Whilst Mahomet’s hand, as already shown, was on the papal power for three years and six weeks, that is, from 31st August, 1526 to 14th October, 1529, and, by its removal at the latter date, prepared the way for the predicted and accomplished restoration of that power in 1530; Charles V., the chief instrument of its external humiliation, is seen to have been its enemy during the full and exact period of three years and a half, that is, from August, 1526, when his sudden change in favour of the Reformation is recorded by the issue of the Diet of Spire,

to February, 1530, when his return to the papacy is signified by the still more marked event of his coronation oath. The grand result of the first change being visible in the sack of Rome in May, 1527, and of the second in "the restoration of popery" in November, 1530, it will be seen that a chronological relation is established fraught not only with interest, as above observed, but also with much confirmatory force. "The beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit" presents himself in August, 1526, to perform his part, maintains his character for three years and a half, and retires in February, 1530. In May, 1527, nine months from the time of his appearance, the fruits of that appearance are plainly visible; and in November, 1530, nine months from the time of his retirement, the object of his appearance is seen to be accomplished. Whilst, therefore, the interval between the causes is three and a half years, and the interval between the effects is three and a half years also, so is a chronological relation established, entitled to be termed interesting and confirmatory; so strong, indeed, is its claim, that a repetition of an observation made in our last lecture becomes necessary. It was observed at p. 431, "Naturally dazzled by the brilliancy of the colouring which history has thrown into its picture, we must not be led to overlook that the chastisement thus inflicted on the Roman capital is subservient to the more comprehensive chastisement, embraced by the prophecy, on the internal doctrines and life of the Romish church. Just as Luther was but a visible impersonation of the spirit of the gospel-intervening angel, so Rome was but the visible representation of "the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified." Accordingly, the events just chronicled, although literally illustrating the prophecy, and thus marking the chronological commencement of the prophetic "three and an half days," must be regarded as an outward sign only of the spiritual degradation which was at this time inflicted on the papacy."

These remarks, suggested on witnessing the outward signs marking the predicted fall of the visible professing church, are equally applicable and noteworthy on witnessing her predicted restoration. Whilst, therefore, the outward signs of

that restoration are accurately marked, and their accordance with the terms of the prophecy demonstrated, *the spirit* of those terms appears still to require some comprehensive infusion of internal life into her principles, doctrines, and discipline, which, under the exposures of Luther and his fellow Reformers, had fallen into almost universal contempt; and under the exercise of the power of the “reed like unto a rod” placed in the Reformer’s hands, had been deprived of life and cast out from the inner court of the temple of God.

A clue to the source of such infusion is supplied by D’Aubigné in book 10, ch. 1. In continuation of the extract inserted in the previous lecture, and terminated at p. 364 by “Since the power which Charles V. claims in the empire is refused, let others pursue the heretic of Wittemberg. He is engrossed by graver cares,” the historian adds:—“In fact, Francis I., impatient to come to blows with his rival, had thrown down the gauntlet. Under the pretext of reinstating the children of John of Albert, king of Navarre, in their patrimony, he had begun a long and bloody struggle, which was to last as long as his life, by sending into that kingdom, under the command of Lesparre, an army whose rapid conquests were not arrested till they arrived before the fortress of Pampeluna.

“On these strong fortifications an enthusiasm was to be kindled, which should one day oppose the enthusiasm of the Reformer, and *breathe into the papacy a new spirit of energy, devotedness, and power*. Pampeluna was to be the cradle of the rival of the monk of Wittemberg.

“Among the defenders of Pampeluna was a young gentleman named Don Inigo Lopez of Recalde, the cadet of a family of thirteen children. The governor of Navarre, having gone into Spain to ask assistance, had left Pampeluna in the charge of Inigo and a few nobles. The latter, seeing the superiority of the French troops, resolved to withdraw. Inigo conjured them to make head against Lesparre. Finding that their purpose could not be shaken, he turned from them with looks of indignation, accused them of cowardice and perfidy, and then threw himself single handed into the fortress, determined to defend it at the cost of his life.”

After recounting his brave defence of the citadel, the historian continues: "All at once a bullet struck the wall at the place where he was defending; a shivered stone severely wounded the knight in his right leg, and the shot in rebounding broke his left. Inigo fell insensible. The garrison immediately surrendered, and the French, filled with admiration at the courage of their young opponent, caused him to be carried in a litter to his friends and parents in the castle of Loyola. In this seignorial mansion, from which he afterwards took his name, Inigo was born, eight years after Luther, of one of the most distinguished families in the kingdom.

"Constrained to a painful repose, he behoved somehow to employ his lively fancy. In the absence of romances of chivalry, which he had hitherto been accustomed to devour, he was furnished with the Life of Christ, and the Flowers of the Saints. This reading, in his solitary and sickly condition, produced an extraordinary impression on his mind. The humble actions of the saints and their heroic sufferings suddenly appeared to him more deserving of praise than all the feats of chivalry. Stretched on his feverish bed, he gave himself up to the most contradictory thoughts. When scarcely recovered, he resolved to bid adieu to the world. After having, like Luther, partaken of an entertainment with his companions in arms, he set out alone in the greatest secrecy, for the solitary abodes which the hermits of St. Benedict had hewn out in the rock in the mountains of Montserrat. Urged on, not by a conviction of his sins or the need of divine grace, but by a longing to become the 'knight of Mary,' and gain renown by mortifications and pious works, like all the army of the saints, he confessed during three days, gave his rich clothing to a beggar, *put on sackcloth*, and girded himself with a cord. Then calling to mind the celebrated vigil of Amadis of Gaul, he hung up his sword before an image of Mary, and passed the night watching in his new and strange costume. Sometimes on his knees, sometimes standing, but always in prayer, and with the pilgrim's staff in his hand, he employed himself in all the devout exercises which Amadis of Gaul had of old performed. 'Thus,'

observes the Jesuit, Maffei, one of the biographers of the saint, ‘while Satan was arming Martin Luther against all laws, human and divine, and while this infamous heresiarch was appearing at Worms, and there declaring impious war on the apostolic see, Christ, in the exercise of his divine providence, was raising up this new champion and binding him—him, and, at a later period, all his followers—to the service of the Roman pontiff, opposing him to the licentiousness and fury of heretical perverseness.’ ”

The Jesuit biographer here supplies a striking comment on the prophecy. D’Aubigné says, in continuation :—“Loyola, still lame in one leg, dragged along through winding and desert paths to Manresa, and there entered a convent of Dominicans, that he might devote himself, in this obscure spot, to the severest penances. Like Luther, he daily begged his bread from door to door. He remained seven hours on his knees, and flagellated himself thrice every day ; at midnight, he was again at prayer. He allowed his hair and nails to grow, and it would have been impossible to recognise the young and brilliant knight of Pampeluna in the pale, wan monk of Manresa.

“Meanwhile, the moment had arrived when the religious ideas, which had hitherto been to Inigo merely a sport of chivalry, were to reveal themselves to him with greater seriousness, and make him feel a power of which he was still ignorant. Suddenly the joy which he had hitherto experienced, disappeared. In vain did he apply to prayer and the singing of hymns, he could find no rest. His imagination had ceased to surround him with amiable illusions ; he was left alone with his conscience. He could not comprehend a state which was so novel to him, and he asked, in alarm, whether God, for whom he had made so many sacrifices, was still angry with him. Night and day, terrors agitated his soul ; he shed bitter tears, and with loud cries called for the peace which he had lost, but all in vain. He wandered, gloomy and depressed ; his conscience cried aloud that during his whole life he had done nothing but heap sin upon sin ; and the unhappy man, overwhelmed with terror, made the cloister echo with his groans.

“Strange thoughts then found admission into his heart. Experiencing no comfort in confession and in the various ordinances of the Church, he began, like Luther, to doubt their efficacy. But, instead of turning aside from human works, and applying to the all-sufficient work of Christ, and instead of perceiving that his remorse was sent to urge him to the foot of the cross, he persuaded himself that these internal upbraidings came not from God, but from the devil, and adopted the resolution of thinking no more of his sins, of effacing them, and consigning them to eternal oblivion. Luther turned towards Christ, Loyola fell back upon himself. Had a Staupitz, with a Bible in his hand, presented himself at the convent of Manresa, Inigo might, perhaps, have become the Luther of the Peninsula. These two great men of the sixteenth century—*these two founders of the two spiritual powers* which for three hundred years have been warring with each other—were at this time brethren; and, perhaps, had they met, Luther and Loyola would have fallen into each others arms and mingled their tears and their vows. But these two monks were from this moment to follow very different paths.

“Inigo was shortly after confirmed in the conclusion at which he had arrived, by visions. His own resolutions had been substituted for the grace of Christ, and his own imagination for the word of Christ. The voice of God in his conscience he had regarded as the voice of a demon; and, accordingly, his future history exhibits him as given up to the inspirations of the spirit of darkness. His life soon consisted only of ecstasies and contemplations. Such was the Christianity to which Loyola, like the prophets of Zwickau, had recourse. Inigo did not seek the truth in the holy Scriptures, but in their stead imagined immediate communications from the kingdom of spirits.

“One day, while going to the church of St. Paul, which is situated outside the town, plunged in meditation, he followed the banks of the Llobregat. At last he sat down. His eyes were fixed on the river, which was slowly rolling its deep waters at his feet, and he became completely absorbed in meditation. Suddenly he was seized with

ecstasy; he saw, with his eyes, what men scarcely comprehend after much reading, watching, and labour. He rose up, stood on the brink of the river, and seemed to himself to become a new man; he afterwards put himself upon his knees before a cross, which happened to be in the neighbourhood, disposed to sacrifice his life in the cause, the mysteries of which had just been revealed to him.

“From that time his visions became more frequent. One day, while seated on the stair of St. Dominic, at Manresa, he was singing hymns to the holy Virgin. Suddenly his soul was seized with ecstasy; he remained motionless, absorbed in contemplation; the mystery of the Holy Trinity was revealed to his eyes under magnificent symbols. He shed tears, sobbed aloud, and during the whole day ceased not to speak of the ineffable vision.

“These numerous apparitions had dissipated all his doubts. Unlike Luther, he believed, not because the things of faith were written in the word of God, but in consequence of the visions which he had seen. ‘Even though there had been no Bible,’ say his apologists, ‘even had these mysteries never been revealed in Scripture, he would have believed them, for God had been unveiled to him.’ Luther, on receiving his degree of doctor, had taken an oath to the holy Scriptures, and the authority of the word of God, the only infallible authority, had become the fundamental principle of the Reformation. Loyola took his oath to dreams and visions, and fantastic apparitions became the principle of his life and of his faith.

“The residence of Luther in the convent of Erfurt, and that of Loyola in the convent of Manresa, explain to us respectively the Reformation and *the modern papacy*. We shall not follow the monk, who was *to reanimate the exhausted powers of Rome*, to Jerusalem, whither he repaired on quitting the cloister. We shall meet with him again in the course of this history.”

After thus supplying such an unmistakable clue to the source of the spirit which infused new life into the doctrines and discipline of the lifeless Romish church, and in terms, the remarkably illustrative character of which is too plain to

need further remark, the historian continues by recording the already announced death of Leo X.

The clue to the spirit of life which gave birth to "the modern papacy" being thus obtained, a curiosity is awakened to learn its fruits. These are succinctly set forth by Dr. Mosheim, in his history of the Roman or Latin church in the sixteenth century, and from which the following may be extracted as sufficient to demonstrate the sustained accordance between history and revelation. He says, in his general history :—

"When the Roman pontiffs saw their ambition checked by the progress of the Reformation, which deprived them of a great part of their spiritual dominion in Europe, they turned their lordly views towards the other parts of the globe, and became more solicitous than ever about the propagation of the gospel among the nations that lay yet involved in the darkness of Paganism. This they considered as the best method of making amends for the loss they had sustained in Europe, and the most specious pretext for assuming to themselves, with some appearance of justice, the title of heads or parents of the universal church. The famous society which, in the year 1540, took the denomination of *Jesuits*, or *the company of Jesus*, seemed every way proper to assist the court of Rome in this extensive design. And, accordingly, from their first rise, this peculiar charge was given them, that they should form a certain number of their order for the propagation of Christianity among the unenlightened nations, and that these missionaries should be at the absolute disposal of the Roman pontiff, and always ready, at a moment's warning, to repair to whatever part of the world he should fix for the exercise of their ministry."

In a note, it is stated : "When the famous Ignatius first solicited the confirmation of his order by the Roman pontiff, Paul III., the learned and worthy cardinal Guidiccioni opposed his request with great vehemence. But this opposition was vanquished by the dexterity of Ignatius, who, changing the articles of his institution, in which he had promised obedience to the pope, with certain restrictions, turned it in such a manner as to bind his order by a solemn

vow of implicit, blind, and unlimited submission and obedience to the Roman pontiff. This change produced the desired effect, and made the popes look upon the Jesuits as *the chief support of their authority*: and hence, the zeal which Rome has ever shown for that order, and that, even at present, when their secret enormities have been brought to light, and procured the suppression of their society in Portugal and in France, where their power was so extensive. It is, indeed, remarkable, that Ignatius and his company, in the very same charter of their order in which they declare their implicit and blind allegiance to the court of Rome, promise a like and implicit allegiance to the general of their society, notwithstanding the impossibility of serving two absolute masters, whose commands may be often contradictory.” Continuing from the text, Mosheim further says:—

“The many histories and relations which mention the labours, perils, and exploits of that prodigious multitude of Jesuits, who were employed in the conversion of the African, American, and Indian infidels, abundantly show with what fidelity and zeal the members of this society executed the orders of the Roman pontiffs. And their labours would undoubtedly have crowned them with immortal glory, had it not appeared evident from the most authentic records, that the greatest part of these new apostles had more in view the promoting the ambitious views of Rome and the advancing the interests of their own society, than the propagation of the Christian religion, or the honour of its divine Author. It may also be affirmed, from records of the highest credit and authority, that the *inquisition* erected by the Jesuits at Goa, and the penal laws whose terrors they employed so freely in propagation of the gospel, contributed much more than their arguments and exhortations, which were but sparingly used, to engage the Indians to embrace Christianity. The converting zeal of the Franciscans and Dominicans, which had, for a long time, been not only cooled, but *almost totally extinguished, was animated anew by the example of the Jesuits*. And several other religious orders, that slumbered in their cells, *were roused from their lethargy*,” and stood upon their feet, “if not by a principle of envy, at least by a spirit of emulation.”

Again, in his *particular* history, Mosheim says :—

“The church of Rome lost much of its ancient splendour and majesty as soon as Luther and the other luminaries of the Reformation had exhibited to the view of the European nations the Christian religion restored, at least, to a considerable part of its native purity, and delivered from many of the superstitions under which it had lain so long disfigured.

“In this declining state of their affairs, it was natural for the humbled pontiffs to look about for some method of repairing their losses ; and, for this purpose, they exerted much more zeal and industry than had been shown by their predecessors, in extending the limits of their spiritual dominion beyond Europe, and left no means unemployed of gaining proselytes and adherents in the Indies, both among the Pagan nations and the Christian sects.

“The monastic orders and religious societies have been always considered by the Roman pontiffs as the principal support of their authority and dominion. It is chiefly by them that they rule the church, maintain their influence on the minds of the people, and augment the number of their votaries. And, indeed, various causes contribute to render the connection between the pontiffs and these religious communities much more intimate than that which subsists between them and the other clergy, of whatever rank or order we may suppose them to be. It was, therefore, judged necessary, when *the success of Luther and the progress of the Reformation had effaced such a considerable part of the majesty of Rome*, to found some new religious fraternity, that should in a particular manner, be devoted to the interests of the Roman pontiff, and the very express end of whose institution should be *to renew the vigour of a declining hierarchy, to heal the deep wound it had received, to preserve those parts of the papal dominions that remained yet entire, and to augment them by new accessions*. This was so much the more necessary as the two famous *mendicant* societies, the Franciscans and Dominicans, by whose ministry the popes had chiefly governed during many ages, and that with the greatest success and glory, had now lost on several accounts, a con-

siderable part of their influence and authority, and were thereby less capable of serving the church with efficacy and vigour, than they had formerly been. What the pontiff sought for, in this declining state of his affairs, was found in that famous and most powerful society, which, deriving its title from the name of Jesus, were commonly called *Jesuits*, while they were styled by their enemies *Loyalites*, and sometimes *Inighists*, from the Spanish name of their founder. This founder was Ignatius Loyola, a Spanish knight, who, from an illiterate soldier, became an unparalleled fanatic—a fanatic, indeed, of a fertile and enterprising genius, who, after having passed through various scenes of life, came to Rome, and being there directed by the prudent councils of persons much wiser than himself, was rendered capable of instituting such an order as the state of the church at that time essentially required.

“The church and court of Rome, since the remarkable period when so many kingdoms and provinces withdrew from their jurisdiction, have *derived more influence and support from the labours of this single order, than from all their other emissaries and ministers, and all the various exertions of their power and opulence.* It was this famous company which, spreading itself with an astonishing rapidity throughout the greatest part of the habitable world, confirmed the wavering nations in the faith of Rome, restrained the progress of the rising sects, gained over a prodigious number of pagans in the most barbarous and remote parts of the globe to the profession of popery, and attacked the pretended heretics of all denominations; appearing almost alone in the field of controversy, sustaining with fortitude and resolution the whole burden of this religious war, and surpassing by far the champions of antiquity, both in the subtilty of their reasonings and the eloquence of their discourses. Nor is this all; for, by the affected softness and complying spirit that reigns in their conversation and manners, by their consummate skill and prudence in civil transactions, by their acquaintance with the arts and sciences, and a variety of other qualities and accomplishments, they insinuated themselves into the peculiar favour and protection of statesmen,

persons of the first distinction, and even of crowned heads. Nor did anything contribute more to give them that ascendancy they have universally acquired, than the cunning and dexterity with which they relaxed and modified their system of morality, accommodating it artfully to the propensities of mankind, and depriving it on certain occasions of that severity that rendered it burdensome to the sensual and voluptuous. By this, they supplanted, in the palaces of the great and in the courts of princes, the Dominicans and other rigid doctors, who had formerly held there the tribunal of confession and the direction of consciences, and engrossed to themselves an exclusive and irresistible influence in those retreats of royal grandeur from whence issue the counsels that govern mankind. An order of this nature could not but be highly adapted to promote the interests of the court of Rome; and this, indeed, was *its great end and the leading purpose which it never lost sight of, employing everywhere its utmost vigilance and art to support the authority of the Roman pontiffs, and to save them from the contempt of which they must have been naturally apprehensive, in consequence of a revolution that opened the eyes of a great part of mankind.*"

The historian here illustrates our subject very forcibly. In a note, it is further said:—"The character and spirit of the Jesuits were admirably described, and their transactions and fate foretold, with a sagacity almost prophetic, so early as the year 1551, in a sermon preached in Christ Church, Dublin, by Dr. George Brown, bishop of that see; a copy of which was given to Sir James Ware, and may be found in the Harleian Miscellany (vol. v. p. 566). The remarkable passage that relates to the Jesuits, is as follows:—'But there are a new fraternity of late sprung up, who call themselves *Jesuits*, which will deceive many, who are much after the Scribes' and Pharisees' manner. Amongst the Jews they shall strive to abolish the truth, and shall come very near to do it. For these sorts will turn themselves into several forms: with the heathens, a heathenist; with the Atheists, an Atheist; with the Jews, a Jew; with the Reformers, a Reformade, purposely to know your intentions, your minds, your hearts, and your inclinations, and thereby

bring you at last to be like the fool that said in his heart—*There was no God*. These shall spread over the whole world, shall be admitted into the counsels of princes, and they never the wiser; charming of them, yea, making your princes reveal their hearts and the secrets therein, and yet they not perceive it; which will happen from falling from the law of God, by neglect of fulfilling the law of God, and by winking at their sins; yet, in the end, God, to justify his law, shall suddenly cut off this society, even by the hands of those who have most succoured them, and made use of them; so that, at the end, they shall become odious to all nations. They shall be worse than Jews, having no resting-place upon earth, and then shall a Jew have more favour than a Jesuit.’ This singular passage, I had almost said, prediction, seems to be accomplished in part, by the present suppression of the Jesuits in France, (I write this note in 1762) and by the universal indignation, which the perfidious stratagems, iniquitous avarice, and ambitious views of that society have excited among all the orders of the French nation, from the throne to the cottage.”

A lucid and exhaustive comment on our subject is supplied by the writer of an article, which appeared in the *Morning Post*, 7th April, 1869, on the Irish church question, then under the deliberation of the House of Commons. He says:—“The Roman Catholics, however, have a missionary history to refer to. No church has sent forth missionaries to be compared with the Jesuits—those Jews of the clerical order, as they have been called—men, whom persecution could not extinguish nor penal laws exclude. But they, it should be remembered, went forth armed with the cardinal dogma of their faith. They were charged to convert the heretic as well as the heathen; they were, they affirmed, the apostles of the one Catholic church; and it has been said of them, and not by a friendly historian, that, *finding this church to all appearance dead, they breathed the breath of life into the dry bones, and they lived and stood upon their feet an exceeding great army*.” Thank you, Mr. Editor, for this keystone; it arrived on the exact day of its being required, fits admirably, and completes this part of our structure with

solidity and effect; the latter being considerably increased by its confirmation of that which has been more than once suggested by our historic testimonies; viz., that the terms, "where also our Lord was crucified," used in the description of the elements of the Apocalyptic "great city," represented, in addition to the interpretation already given and confirmed, the admixture of Judaism, as well as Paganism, in the composition of the candlesticks symbolising the visible professing, and, as we have now seen, misnamed Christian church.

We may now pass to our next subject. Its Apocalyptic terms are, "And the same hour was there a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the city fell, and in the earthquake were slain of men seven thousand; and the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven."

The interpretations affixed to these terms, it will be remembered, are, "That the recorded events were immediately followed by a great revolution; that the yoke of the visible professing church was cast off, first by an important part, and subsequently by a less important part of her ecclesiastical dominions, and that the remaining part maintained their allegiance to her, and gave their power to her supreme head, under the influence of fear only."

On completing his account of the proceedings at the Diet of Augsburg, in 1530, D'Aubigné says, "The evangelical history of the Reformation in Germany is nearly finished at the epoch we have reached, and the diplomatic history of legal Protestantism begins. Whatever may now be done, whatever may be said, the church of the first ages has reappeared; and it has reappeared strong enough to show that it will live. There will still be conferences and discussions; there will still be leagues and combats; there will even be deplorable defeats; but all these are a secondary movement. The great movement is accomplished; the cause of faith is won by faith. The effort has been made; the evangelical doctrine has taken root in the world, and neither the storms of men, nor the powers of hell, will ever be able to tear it up."

Having noted the spirit of D'Aubigné's remarks, we may follow Dr. Mosheim for the continuation of our illustrations. It will be remembered, that we interrupted his history at the point of his recording the decree issued by Charles V. in favour of the papacy, on the 19th November, 1530. Continuing therefrom, he says :—

“No sooner were the Elector of Saxony and the confederate princes informed of this deplorable issue of the Diet of Augsburg, than they assembled in order to deliberate upon the measures that were proper to be taken on this critical occasion. In the year 1530, and the year following, they met first at Smalcald, afterwards at Frankfort, and formed a solemn alliance and confederacy, with the intention of defending vigorously their religion and liberties against the dangers and encroachments with which they were menaced by the edict of Augsburg, without attempting, however, anything, properly speaking, against the votaries of Rome. Into this confederacy they invited the kings of England, France, and Denmark, with several other republics and states, and left no means unemployed that might tend to corroborate and cement this important alliance. In this troubled state of affairs many projects of reconciliation were proposed, and, after various negotiations, a treaty of peace was concluded at Nuremberg in the year 1532, between the emperor and the Protestant princes, on the following conditions: that the latter should furnish a subsidy for carrying on the war against the Turks, and acknowledge Ferdinand lawful king of the Romans; and that the emperor, on his part, should abrogate and annul the edicts of Worms and Augsburg, and allow the Lutherans the free and unmolested exercise of their religious doctrine and discipline, until a rule of faith was fixed, either in the free general council that was to be assembled in the space of six months, or in a Diet of the empire. The apprehension of an approaching rupture was scarcely removed by this agreement, when John, Elector of Saxony, died, and was succeeded by his son, John Frederick, a prince of invincible fortitude and magnanimity, whose reign was little better than a continued scene of disappointments and calamities.

“The religious truce, concluded at Nuremberg, inspired with new vigour and resolution all the friends of the Reformation. It gave strength to the feeble, and perseverance to the bold. Encouraged by it, those who had hitherto been only secret enemies to the Roman pontiff, spurned now his yoke publicly, and refused to submit to his imperious jurisdiction. This appears from the various cities and provinces in Germany, which, about this time, boldly enlisted themselves under the religious standards of Luther. On the other hand, as all hope of terminating the religious debates that divided Europe was founded in the meeting of the general council, which had been so solemnly promised, the emperor renewed his earnest request to Clement VII., that he would hasten an event that was expected and desired with so much impatience. The pontiff, whom the history of past councils filled with the most uneasy and discouraging apprehensions, endeavoured to retard, what he could not, with any decency, absolutely refuse. He formed innumerable pretexts to put off the evil day; and his whole conduct evidently showed that he was more desirous of having these religious differences decided by the force of arms, than by the power of argument. He, indeed, in the year 1533, made a proposal, by his legate, to assemble a council at Mantua, Placentia, or Bologna, but the Protestants refused their consent to the nomination of an Italian council, and insisted that a controversy, which had its rise in the heart of Germany, should be decided within the limits of the empire. The pope, by his usual artifices, eluded his own promise, disappointed their expectations, and was cut off by death, in the year 1534, in the midst of his stratagems.

“His successor Paul III. seemed to show less reluctance to the assembling a general council, and appeared even disposed to comply with the desires of the emperor in that respect. Accordingly, in the year 1535, he expressed his inclination to convoke one at Mantua; and, the year following, actually sent circular letters for that purpose through all the kingdoms and states under his jurisdiction. The Protestants, on the other hand, fully persuaded that, in such a council, all things would be carried by the votaries of Rome, and

nothing concluded but what should be agreeable to the sentiments and ambition of the pontiff, assembled at Smalcald in the year 1537. And there they protested solemnly against such a partial and corrupt council as that which was convoked by Paul III., but, at the same time, had a new *summary* of their doctrine drawn up by Luther, in order to present it to the assembled bishops, if it was required of them. This summary, which was distinguished by the title of the *Articles of Smalcald*, is generally joined with the creeds and confessions of the Lutheran church.

“During these transactions, two remarkable events happened, of which the one was most detrimental to the cause of religion in general, to that of the Reformation in particular, and produced in Germany civil tumults and commotions of the most horrid kind; while the other was more salutary in its consequences and effects, and struck at the very root of the papal authority and dominion. The former of these events was a new sedition, kindled by a fanatical and outrageous mob of the *anabaptists*; and the latter, the rupture between Henry VIII., king of England, and the Roman pontiff, whose jurisdiction and spiritual supremacy were publicly renounced by that rough and resolute monarch.”

The historian concludes his relation of the former event by saying: “This disorderly and outrageous conduct of a handful of *anabaptists* drew upon the whole body heavy marks of displeasure from the greatest part of the European princes. The severest laws were enacted against them for the second time, in consequence of which the innocent and the guilty were involved in the same terrible fate, and prodigious numbers devoted to death in the most dreadful forms.”

His relation of the rupture between Henry VIII. and the Roman pontiff demands to be more fully quoted. England being an important part of the papal dominions, her fall therefrom, which the historian has prepared us to learn, is an event precisely such as the prophecy embraces. He says:—“The pillars of papal despotism were at this time shaken in England by an event, which, at first, did not seem to promise such important consequences. Henry VIII., a

prince who in vices and abilities was surpassed by none who swayed the sceptre in this age, and who, in the beginning of these religious troubles, had opposed the doctrines and views of Luther with the utmost vehemence, was the principal agent in *this great revolution*," or Apocalyptic earthquake. "Bound in the chains of matrimony to Catharine of Arragon, aunt to Charles V., but at the same time, captivated by the charms of an illustrious virgin, Anna Boleyn, he ardently desired to be divorced from the former, that he might render lawful his passion for the latter." A note here says, "From Dr. Mosheim's manner of expressing himself, an uninformed reader might be led to conclude, that the charms of Anna Boleyn were the only motive that engaged Henry to dissolve his marriage with Catharine. But this representation of the matter is not accurate. The king had entertained scruples concerning the legitimacy of his marriage before his acquaintance with the beautiful and unfortunate Anna." The text continues: "For this purpose, he addressed himself to the Roman pontiff, Clement VII., in order to obtain a dissolution of his marriage, alleging that as she had been previously married to his elder brother, Arthur, it was repugnant to the divine law to contract wedlock with a brother's widow. Clement was greatly perplexed upon this occasion by the apprehension of incurring the indignation of the emperor, in case his decision was favourable to Henry; and, therefore, he contrived various pretexts to evade a positive answer, and exhausted all his policy and artifice to cajole and deceive the English monarch. Tired with the proceedings of the Romish pontiff, Henry had recourse, for the accomplishment of his purposes, to an expedient which was suggested by the famous Thomas Cranmer, who was a secret friend to Luther and his cause, and who was afterwards raised to the see of Canterbury. This expedient was, to demand the opinions of the most learned European universities concerning the subject of his scruples. The result of this measure was favourable to his views. The greatest part of the universities declared the marriage with a brother's widow unlawful; Catherine was consequently divorced; Anna conducted by a formal marriage into the royal bed, notwithstanding the

remonstrances of Clement ; and the English nation delivered from the tyranny of Rome, by Henry's *renouncing the jurisdiction and supremacy of its imperious pontiff*. Soon after this, *Henry was declared by the parliament and people supreme head on earth of the Church of England, the monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues applied to other purposes ; and the power and authority of the pope were abrogated and entirely overturned ;*" and an important part of "the great city" fell.

The historian adds :—"It is, however, carefully to be observed here, that this *downfall of the papal authority in England* was not productive of much benefit either to the friends or to the cause of the Reformation. For the same monarch who had so resolutely withdrawn himself from the dominion of Rome, yet superstitiously retained the greatest part of its errors, along with its imperious and persecuting spirit. He still adhered to several of the most monstrous doctrines of popery, and frequently presented the terrors of death to those who differed from him in their religious sentiments. Besides, he considered the title of *Head of the English Church* as if it transferred to him the enormous power which had been claimed, and, indeed, *usurped*, by the Roman pontiffs ; and in consequence of this interpretation of his title, he looked upon himself as master of the religious sentiments of his subjects, and as authorised to prescribe modes of faith according to his fancy. Hence, it came to pass that, during the life and reign of this prince, the face of religion was constantly changing, and thus resembled the capricious and unsteady character of its new chief. The prudence, learning, and activity of Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who was the favourite of the king and the friend of the Reformation, counteracted, however, in many instances, the humour and vehemence of this inconstant and turbulent monarch. The pious productions and wise counsels of that venerable prelate diminished daily the influence of the ancient superstitions, dispelled by degrees the mists of ignorance that blinded the people in favour of popery, and increased considerably the number of those who wished well to the Reformation."

We shall renew this subject at a later date, in accordance

with the order adopted by the historian. He now returns to Germany, and says :—" After the meeting of the council of Mantua was prevented, various measures were taken and many schemes proposed, by the emperor on the one hand, and by the Protestant princes on the other, for the restoration of concord and union, both civil and religious. But they produced no other effect than a mutual agreement of the contending parties to refer the decision of their pretensions and debates to a general council, or, if the meeting of such a council should be prevented by any unforeseen obstacles, to the next German Diet.

" This resolution was rendered ineffectual by the period of perplexity and trouble that succeeded it, and by various incidents that widened the breach, and put off to a farther day the deliberations that were designed to heal it. It is true the Roman pontiff ordered his legate to declare in the Diet, which was assembled at Spires in the year 1542, that he would, according to the promise he had already made, assemble a general council, and that Trent should be the place of its meeting, if the Diet had no objection to that city. Ferdinand, king of the Romans, and the princes who adhered to the papal cause, gave their consent to this proposal, while the protestant members of the Diet objected both against a council summoned by the papal authority alone, and also against the place appointed for its meeting, and demanded a free and lawful council, which should not be biassed by the dictates, nor awed by the proximity, of the Roman pontiff. This protestation produced no effect ; Paul III. persisted in his purpose, and issued out his circular letters for the convocation of the council, with the approbation of the emperor : while this prince endeavoured, at the Diet of Worms in the year 1545, to persuade the Protestants to consent to the meeting of this council at Trent. But the Protestants were fixed in their resolution, and the efforts of Charles were vain. Upon which the emperor, who had hitherto disapproved of the violent measures which were incessantly suggested by the court of Rome, departed from his usual prudence and moderation, and listening to the sanguinary counsels of Paul, formed, in conjunction with that

subtle pontiff, the design of terminating the debates about religion by the force of arms.

“The landgrave of Hesse and the elector of Saxony, who were the chief protectors of the protestant cause, were no sooner informed of this, than they took the proper measures to prevent their being surprised and overwhelmed unawares by a superior force, and, accordingly, raised an army for their defence. While this terrible storm was rising” (“and at the same hour there was a great earthquake”), “Luther, whose aversion to all methods of violence and force in matters of religion was well known, and who recommended prayer and patience as the only arms worthy of those who had the cause of genuine Christianity at heart, was removed by Providence from this scene of tumult, and the approaching calamities that threatened his country. He died in peace on the 18th February, in the year 1546, at Aysleben, the place of his birth.

“The emperor and the pope had mutually resolved the destruction of all who should dare to oppose the council of Trent. The meeting of that assembly was to serve as a signal for their taking arms : and, accordingly, its deliberations were scarcely begun, in the year 1546, when the Protestants perceived undoubted marks of the approaching storm, and of a formidable union between the emperor and the pontiff to overwhelm and crush them by a sudden blow. There had been, it is true, a new conference this very year, at the Diet of Ratisbon, between some eminent doctors of both parties, with a view to the accommodation of their religious differences ; but it appeared sufficiently, both from the nature of this dispute, the manner it was carried on, and its issue and result, that the matters in debate would sooner or later be decided in the field of battle. In the mean time, the fathers, assembled in the council of Trent, promulgated their decrees ; while the protestant princes in the Diet of Ratisbon protested against their authority, and were, in consequence of this, proscribed by the emperor, who raised an army to reduce them to obedience.

“The elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse led their forces into Bavaria against the emperor, and cannonaded

his camp at Ingolstadt with great spirit. It was supposed that this would bring the two armies to a general action ; but several circumstances prevented a battle, which was expected by the most of the confederates, and, probably, would have been advantageous to their cause. Among these, we may reckon, principally, the perfidy of Maurice, duke of Saxony, who, seduced by the promises of the emperor on the one hand, and by his own ambition and avarice on the other, invaded the electoral dominions of his uncle, John Frederick, while that worthy prince was maintaining against the emperor the sacred cause of religion and liberty. Add to this the divisions that were fomented by the dissimulation of the emperor among the confederate princes, the failure of France in furnishing the subsidy that had been promised by its monarch ; and other incidents of less moment. All these things discouraged so the heads of the protestant party that their army was soon dispersed, and the elector of Saxony directed his march homewards. But he was pursued by the emperor, who made several forced marches with a view to destroy his enemy before he should have time to recover his vigour ; in which design he was assisted by the ill-grounded security of the elector, and, as there is too much reason to think, by the treachery of his officers. The two armies drew up in order of battle near Muhlberg on the Elbe, on the 24th April, 1547, and after a bloody action, that of the elector, being inferior in numbers, was entirely defeated and himself taken prisoner. Philip, landgrave of Hesse, the other chief of the Protestants, was persuaded by the entreaties of his son-in-law, Maurice, now declared elector of Saxony, to throw himself upon the mercy of the emperor, and to implore his pardon. To this he consented, relying on the promise of Charles for obtaining forgiveness and being restored to liberty ; but, notwithstanding those expectations, he was unjustly detained prisoner by a scandalous violation of the most solemn convention.

“ This revolution,” this Apocalyptic earthquake, “ seemed every way adapted to complete the ruin of the protestant cause, and to crown the efforts of the Roman pontiff with the most triumphant success ;” and also to exhibit the fostering

care of the Apocalyptic cloud, in which he and his votaries re-ascended to ecclesiastical power and glory. “In the Diet of Augsburg, which was assembled soon after, with an imperial army at hand to promote union and dispatch, the emperor required of the Protestants that they would leave the decision of these religious contests to the wisdom of the council that was to meet at Trent. The greatest part of the members consented to this proposal, and among others, Maurice, the new elector of Saxony, who owed both his electorate and his dominions to the emperor, and who was ardently desirous of obtaining the liberty of his father-in-law the landgrave of Hesse. This general submission to the will of the emperor did not, however, produce the fruits that were expected from such a solemn and almost universal approbation of the council of Trent. A plague which manifested itself, or was said to do so, in that city, engaged the greatest part of the assembled fathers to retire to Bologna, and thereby the council was, in effect, dissolved; nor could all the entreaties or remonstrances of the emperor prevail upon the pope to re-assemble it again without delay.

“While things were in this situation, and the prospect of seeing a council assembled was cast at a distance, the emperor judged it necessary, during this *interval*, to fall upon some method of maintaining peace in religious matters until the decision, so long expected, should be finally obtained. It was with this view that he ordered Julius Pflugius, bishop of Naumburg, Michael Sidonius, a creature of the pontiff, and John Agricola, a native of Aysleben, to draw up a formulary, which might serve as a rule of faith and worship to both of the contending parties, until a council should be summoned. As this was only a temporary appointment, and had not the force of a permanent or perpetual institution, the rule in question was called *The Interim*.

“This temporary rule of faith and discipline, though it was extremely favourable to the interests and pretensions of the court of Rome, had yet the fate to which schemes of reconciliation are often exposed: it pleased neither of the contending parties, but was equally offensive to the followers of Luther and of the Roman pontiff. It was, however, pro-

mulgated with solemnity by the emperor, at the Diet of Augsburg; and the elector of Mentz, without even deigning to ask the opinions of the assembled princes and states, rose with an air of authority, and, as if he had been commissioned to represent the whole Diet, gave a formal and public approbation to this famous *Interim*. Thus were many princes of the empire, whose silence, though it proceeded from want of courage, was interpreted as a mark of tacit consent, engaged against their will to receive this *book* as a body of ecclesiastical law. The greatest part of those who had the resolution to dispute the authority of this Imperial Creed, were obliged to submit to it by the force of arms, and hence arose deplorable scenes of violence and bloodshed, which involved the empire in the greatest calamities.

“ Maurice, elector of Saxony, who for some time had held a neutral conduct, and neither declared himself for those who rejected, nor for those who had adopted the *rule* in question, assembled, in the year 1548, the Saxon nobility and clergy, with Melancthon at the head of the latter, and in several conferences, held at Leipsic and other places, took counsel concerning what was to be done in this critical affair. The deliberations on this occasion were long and tedious, and their result was ambiguous, for Melancthon, whose opinion was respected as a law by the Reformed doctors, fearing the emperor on the one hand, and attentive to the sentiments of his sovereign on the other, pronounced a sort of reconciling sentence, which, he hoped, would be offensive to no party. He gave it as his opinion that the whole of the book called *Interim* could not, by any means, be adopted by the friends of the Reformation; but he declared, at the same time, that he saw no reason why this book might not be adopted and received as an authoritative rule in things that did not relate to the essential points of religion, in things that might be considered as accessory or *indifferent*. This decision, instead of pacifying matters, produced, on the contrary, new divisions, and formed a schism among the followers of Luther, which placed the cause of the Reformation in the most perilous and critical circumstances, and might have contributed to ruin it entirely, or to retard considerably its progress, had

the pope and the emperor been dexterous enough to make the proper use of those divisions, and to seize the favourable occasion that was presented to them of turning the force of the Protestants against themselves.

“Amidst these contests, Paul III. departed this life, in the year 1549, and was succeeded, the year following, by Julius III., who, yielding to the repeated and importunate solicitations of the emperor, consented to the assembling of a council at Trent. Accordingly, in the Diet of Augsburg, which was again held under the cannon of an imperial army, Charles laid this matter before the states and princes of the empire. The greatest part of the princes gave their consent to the convocation of this council, to which also Maurice, elector of Saxony, submitted upon certain conditions. The emperor then concluded the Diet, in the year 1551, desiring the assembled princes and states to prepare all things for the approaching council, and promising that he would use his most zealous endeavours towards the promoting moderation and harmony, impartiality and charity, in the deliberations and transactions of that assembly.

“Upon the breaking up of the Diet, the Protestants took the steps they judged most prudent to prepare themselves for what was to happen. The Saxons employed the pen of Melancthon, and the Wurtemberghers that of Bredtius, to draw up confessions of their faith, that were to be laid before the new council. Besides the ambassadors of the duke of Wurtemberg, several doctors of that city repaired to Trent. The Saxon divines, with Melancthon at their head, set out also for that place, but proceeded in their journey no further than Nuremberg. They had received secret orders to stop there, for Maurice had no intention of submitting to the emperor's views; on the contrary, he hoped to reduce that prince to a compliance with his own projects. He, therefore, yielded in appearance, that he might carry his point, and thus command in reality.

“Specious dreams of ambition filled the imagination of Charles V.; but his views and projects were disconcerted by that same Maurice of Saxony, who had been one of the principal instruments of that violence and oppression which

he had exercised against the protestant princes, and of the injury he had done to the protestant cause.

“The most considerable princes, not only of Germany, but even of all Europe, had, for a long time, addressed to the emperor their united entreaties for the deliverance of Philip, landgrave of Hesse, and John Frederick, elector of Saxony, from their confinement, and Maurice had solicited with peculiar warmth and assiduity the liberty of the former, who was his father-in-law. But all these solicitations produced no effect. Maurice, perceiving at length that he was deceived by the emperor, and also convinced that this ambitious monarch was forming insidious designs upon the liberties of Germany and the jurisdiction of its princes, entered with the utmost secrecy and expedition, into an alliance with the king of France and several of the German princes, for the maintenance of the rights and liberties of the empire. Encouraged by this respectable confederacy, the active Saxon marched a powerful army against the emperor, in the year 1552, and that with such astonishing valour and rapidity that he surprised Charles at Inspruk, where he lay with a handful of troops in the utmost security, and without the least apprehension of danger. This sudden and unforeseen event alarmed and dejected the emperor to such a degree that he was willing to make peace on almost any conditions ; and, consequently, in a little time after this, he not only concluded, at Passau, the famous treaty of Pacification with the Protestants, but also promised to assemble, in the space of six months, a Diet, in which all the tumults and dissensions that had been occasioned by a variety of sentiments in religious matters should be entirely removed. Thus did the same prince, who stands foremost in the list of those that oppressed the Protestants, and reduced their affairs to the greatest extremities, restore their expiring hopes, support and render triumphant their desperate cause, and procure them a bulwark of peace and liberty which still remains. Maurice, however, did not live to see this happy issue of his glorious expedition, for he lost his life the year following, by a wound received at the battle of Silverhausen, while he was fighting against Albert of Brandenburg.”

The historian then concludes his relation of the effects produced on Germany by “the formidable revolution which seemed every way adapted to complete the ruin of the protestant cause, and to crown the efforts of the Roman pontiff with the most triumphant success,” by saying:—

“The troubles of Germany, with several other incidents, rendered it impossible to assemble the Diet, which the emperor had promised at the pacification of Passau, so soon as the period mentioned in that treaty. This famous Diet met, however, at Augsburg in the year 1555, was opened by Ferdinand in the name of the emperor, and *terminated* those deplorable scenes of bloodshed, desolation, and discord that had so long afflicted both church and state, by that *religious peace*, as it is commonly called, which secured to the Protestants the free exercise of their religion, and established this inestimable liberty upon the firmest foundations. For, after various debates, the following memorable acts were passed, on the 25th September: That the Protestants who followed the *confession* of Augsburg should be for the future considered as entirely exempt from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, and from the authority and superintendence of the bishops; that they were left at perfect liberty to enact laws for themselves relating to their religious sentiments, discipline, and worship; that all the inhabitants of the German empire should be allowed to judge for themselves in religious matters, and to join themselves to that church whose doctrine and worship they thought the purest, and the most consonant with the spirit of true Christianity; and that all those who should injure any person under religious pretexts, and on account of their opinions, should be declared and proceeded against as public enemies of the empire, invaders of its liberty, and disturbers of its peace. The difficulties that were to be surmounted before this equitable decision could be procured, the tedious deliberations, the warm debates, the violent animosities, and bloody wars that were necessary to engage the greatest part of the German states to consent to conditions so agreeable to the dictates of right reason, as well as to the sacred injunctions of the gospel, show us, in a shocking and glaring point of light, the ignorance and

superstition of these miserable times, and stand upon record as one of the most evident proofs of the necessity of the Reformation."

Thus concluding his history of the Reformation in Germany in the sixteenth century, Mosheim proceeds to its history in other countries, commencing with England. It will be remembered that, in that country, the papal yoke has been already shown to have been cast off in the reign of Henry VIII., but as the subsequent remarks of the historian led to an idea of incompleteness in the character and durability of the papal fall, the following testimony will be welcomed as confirming the correspondence then referred to as existing between that event and the prophetic terms "And the tenth part of the city fell." The more precise definition demanded, as previously stated, by the qualifying term "tenth," hitherto interpreted "important part," will be presently supplied. For the moment we may follow Dr. Mosheim, who says, in continuation of his relation of the effects of the revolution, or Apocalyptic earthquake:—

"While these things were transacting in Germany, the friends of genuine Christianity in England deplored the gloomy reign of superstition and the almost total extinction of true religion; and seeing before their eyes the cause of popery maintained by the terrors of bloody persecutions, and daily victims brought to the stake to expiate the pretended crime of preferring the dictates of the gospel to the despotic laws of Rome, they esteemed the Germans happy in having thrown off the yoke of an imperious and superstitious church. Henry VIII., whose personal vices, as well as his arbitrary and capricious conduct, had greatly retarded the progress of the Reformation, was now no more. He departed this life in the year 1547, and was succeeded by his only son, Edward VI. This amiable prince, whose early youth was crowned with that wisdom, sagacity, and virtue, that would have done honour to advanced years, gave new spirit and vigour to the protestant cause, and was its brightest ornament as well as its most effectual support. He encouraged learned and pious men to settle in England, and addressed a particular invitation to Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius, whose moderation

added a lustre to their other virtues, that, by the ministry and labours of these eminent men, in concert with those of the friends of the Reformation in England, he might purge his dominions from the sordid fictions of popery, and establish the pure doctrines of Christianity in their place. For this purpose he issued out the wisest orders for the restoration of true religion; but his reign was too short to accomplish fully such a glorious purpose. In the year 1553, he was taken from his loving and afflicted subjects, whose sorrow was inexpressible and suited to their loss. His sister Mary (daughter of Catharine of Arragon, from whom Henry had been separated by the famous divorce), a furious bigot to the church of Rome, and a princess whose natural character, like the spirit of her religion, was despotic and cruel, succeeded him on the English throne, and imposed anew the arbitrary laws and the tyrannical yoke of Rome upon the people of England. Nor were the methods she employed in the cause of superstition better than the cause itself, or tempered by any sentiments of equity or compassion. Barbarous tortures, and death in the most shocking forms, awaited those who opposed her will or made the least stand against the restoration of popery. And, among many other victims, the learned and pious Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who had been one of the most illustrious instruments of the Reformation in England, fell a sacrifice to her fury. This odious scene was happily concluded in the year 1558, by the death of the queen, who left no issue; and as soon as her successor, the lady Elizabeth, ascended the throne all things assumed a new and a pleasing aspect. This illustrious princess, whose sentiments, councils, and projects breathed a spirit superior to the natural softness and delicacy of her sex, exerted this vigorous and manly spirit in the defence of oppressed conscience and expiring liberty, *broke anew the despotic yoke of papal authority and superstition, and, delivering her people from the bondage of Rome, established that form of religious doctrine and ecclesiastical government which still subsist in England.*" Thus is the permanent fall of the papal authority in England recorded by the historian. He then proceeds to announce its fall in Scotland, and also in

Ireland, thus exhibiting Great Britain as the historical counterpart of the prophetic tenth part of the city which fell. Of Scotland, he says :—"The seeds of the Reformation were very early sown in Scotland by several noblemen of that nation who had resided in Germany during the religious disputes that divided the empire. But the power of the Roman pontiff, supported and seconded by inhuman laws and barbarous executions, choked for many years these tender seeds, and prevented their taking root. The first and most eminent opposer of the papal jurisdiction was John Knox, a disciple of Calvin, whose eloquence was persuasive and whose fortitude was invincible. This resolute Reformer set out from Geneva for Scotland in the year 1559, and in a very short space of time inspired the people, by his private exhortations and his public discourses, with such a violent aversion to the superstitions of Rome, that the greatest part of the Scotch nation abandoned them entirely, and aimed at nothing less than the total extirpation of popery. From this period to the present time, the form of doctrine, worship, and discipline that had been established at Geneva by the ministry of Calvin, has been maintained in Scotland with invincible obstinacy and zeal, and every attempt to introduce into that kingdom the rites and government of the Church of England has proved impotent and unsuccessful."

Of Ireland, Mosheim says :—"The cause of the Reformation underwent in Ireland the same vicissitudes and revolutions that had attended it in England. When Henry VIII., after the abolition of the papal authority, was declared supreme head upon earth of the Church of England, George Brown, a native of England and a monk of the Augustine order, whom that monarch had created, in the year 1535, archbishop of Dublin, began to act with the utmost vigour in consequence of this change in the hierarchy. He purged the churches of his diocese from superstition in all its various forms, pulled down images, destroyed relics, abolished absurd and idolatrous rites, and by the influence as well as authority he had in Ireland, caused the king's supremacy to be acknowledged in that nation. Henry showed soon after, that this supremacy was not a vain title ;

for he banished the monks out of that kingdom, confiscated their revenues, and destroyed their convents. In the reign of Edward VI. still further progress was made in the removal of popish superstitions, by the zealous labours of bishop Brown, and the auspicious encouragement he granted to all who exerted themselves in the cause of the Reformation. But the death of this excellent prince, and the accession of his sister to the throne, changed the face of things in Ireland, as it had done in England. Mary pursued with fire and sword, and all the marks of unrelenting vengeance, the promoters of a pure and rational religion, and deprived Brown and other protestant bishops of their dignities in the church. But the reign of Elizabeth gave a new and a deadly blow to popery, which was again recovering its force and arming itself anew with the authority of the throne, and the Irish were obliged again to submit to the form of worship and discipline established in England."

The historian having related the fall of the papal power in Great Britain, just as if he was designedly illustrating the prophecy, immediately proceeds to recount its fall in the Belgic provinces, in illustration of the prophetic terms "and in the earthquake were slain of men seven thousand." He says:—

"The Reformation had not been long established in Britain, when the Belgic provinces, united by a respectable confederacy *which still subsists, withdrew from their spiritual allegiance to the Roman pontiff*. Philip II., king of Spain," (Charles V. abdicated in 1555, and transferred the crown to his son Philip), "apprehending the danger to which the religion of Rome was exposed from that spirit of liberty and independence which reigned in the inhabitants of the Low Countries, took the most violent measures to dispel it. For this purpose he augmented the number of the bishops, enacted the most severe and barbarous laws against all innovators in matters of religion, and erected that unjust and inhuman tribunal of the *inquisition*, which would intimidate and tame, as he thought, the manly spirit of an oppressed and persecuted people. But his measures, in this respect, were as unsuccessful as they were absurd; his furious and

intemperate zeal for the superstitions of Rome accelerated their destruction, and *the papal authority which had only been in a critical state, was reduced to a desperate one*, by the very steps that were designed to support it. The nobility formed themselves into an association in the year 1566, with a view to procure the repeal of these tyrannical and barbarous edicts; but their solicitations and requests being treated with contempt, they resolved to obtain by force what they hoped to have gained from clemency and justice. They addressed themselves to a free and abused people, *spurned the authority of a cruel yoke*, and with an impetuosity and vehemence that were, perhaps, excessive, trampled upon whatever was held sacred or respectable by the church of Rome.

“To quell these tumults, a powerful army was sent from Spain, under the command of the duke of Alva, whose horrid barbarity and sanguinary proceedings kindled that long and bloody war from which the powerful republic of the *United Provinces* derives its origin, consistence, and grandeur. It was the heroic conduct of William of Nassau, prince of Orange, seconded by the succours of England and France, that delivered this state from the Spanish yoke. And no sooner was this deliverance obtained in the year 1573, than *the reformed religion, as it was professed in Switzerland, was established in the United Provinces*; and, at the same time, a universal toleration granted to those whose religious sentiments were of a different nature, whether they retained the faith of Rome or embraced the Reformation in another form, provided still that they made no attempts against the authority of the government and the tranquillity of the public.”

As these United Provinces, afterwards forming the protestant Republic of Holland, consisted of Holland, Guiderland, Friezeland, Zealand, Overysse, Utrecht and Groningen, it will be seen that a numeric accordance is established by the historian with the prophetic terms “and in the earthquake were slain of men” (in margin ‘names of men’) “seven thousand;” so that we have only now to identify the prophetic terms “thousand” and “tenth,” with the historic

terms “province” and “Great Britain” respectively, and we shall at the same time secure an interesting and important addition to our evidences of correspondence between history and revelation.

A sufficient identification of Great Britain, with “a tenth part of the city” is supplied by referring to our history, in which the several countries composing that city have been more or less mentioned as taking part in the eventful drama of the sixteenth century. These are, Germany, Italy, Austria, Great Britain, Switzerland, France, Spain (including Portugal), Poland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Denmark. It will be observed that these are twelve in number; but as Sweden and Denmark, had, previously to this period, cast off the papal yoke as already shown, it will be seen, that that yoke now cast off by Great Britain is in strict accordance with the prophetic terms “And the tenth part of the city fell.”

It may be also mentioned, as fraught with interest, if not with an accession of evidence, that the territorial capacity of Great Britain approximates to a tenth part of that comprised by the several countries above mentioned; for in *Miller's Companion to the Atlas*, it is found that whilst their aggregate area is about 1,300,000 square miles, the proportion of Great Britain is 118,000, or 12,000 square miles less than one tenth of the whole. It will be seen, therefore, that an approximation is exhibited sufficiently confirming the historic illustration of the prophecy, to enable us to pass to our next subject, without defining the areas of Denmark, Sweden, and those German states which had previously cast off the German yoke, more closely, than by assuming them to have not very inaccurately represented the 120,000 square miles included in the above-mentioned aggregate, but not represented in the decimal proportion prophetically assigned to Great Britain. Additional confirmation is found in Rev. xvii.; but as that part of the prophecy was not at this time revealed to John, so we are excluded from impressing its aid to illustrate a term deemed of itself, and found to be, sufficiently descriptive to identify the event foreshown with the event accomplished. The identification of the prophetic

term "thousand," with the historic term "province" is equally perfect, though its process will detain us rather longer. Our history of the Christian era supplying no clue to the required identification, we are naturally led to the Jewish dispensation, the distinctive peculiarities of which have already furnished us with the key to so many of the Apocalyptic symbols and symbolic terms. And here we find that "thousands" was a term commonly used to express the tribal sub-divisions first instituted by Moses, as related in Ex. xviii. 25, "And Moses chose able men out of all Israel, and made them heads over the people, rulers of *thousands*, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens." From that time, the "thousands of Israel" became a common term to denote, not the numbers of the people, but the tribal sub-divisions above mentioned. Thus Numb. i. 16—"These were the renowned of the congregation, princes of the tribes of their fathers, heads of *thousands* in Israel. And Moses and Aaron took these *men* which are expressed by their names." Again:—Josh. xxii. 14, "And with him ten princes, of each chief house a prince throughout all the tribes of Israel; and each one was an head of the house of their fathers among the *thousands* of Israel." Again, 1. Sam. x. 19, "Now therefore present yourselves before the Lord, by your tribes and by your *thousands*." Again, 1 Sam. xxiii. 23, "If he be in the land, I will search him out throughout all the *thousands* of Judah." Again, Mic. v. 2, "But thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the *thousands* of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel, whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting." Again, Matt. ii. 6, "And thou Bethlehem, the least among the princes," or heads of *thousands* "of Juda."

Hence, it will be seen, that as the Jewish "thousands" represented the territorial districts in the land of Canaan, allotted to and held by the several sub-divisions of each particular tribe, each having a prince or head, who in his turn was subject to a tribal chief; so it was also a perfect symbolic term by which to represent the provinces into which the Netherlands were sub-divided, each of those

provinces being separately ruled, and each ruler subject to imperial jurisdiction; and, therefore, to exhibit the casting off the yoke of papal authority by the “Seven United Provinces,” as a complete historic illustration of the terms “And in the earthquake were slain of men seven thousand;” and as the remainder of the Belgic provinces, as well as others in Germany similarly constituted, awed by the furious onslaughts of the inquisition and the swords of Charles V. and Philip II., continued their allegiance to the Roman pontiff, we are reminded that the historic illustrations of the next prophetic terms, “And the remnant were affrighted and gave glory to the God of heaven,” have commenced.

It will be remembered that it has been shown that the Apocalyptic term “God of heaven,” does not refer to “Him that liveth for ever and ever, who created heaven and the things that therein are; and the earth and the things that therein are; and the sea and the things that are therein;” but to the supreme head of the professing Christian church, visibly represented by the papacy. Historic correspondence therewith is strictly maintained, both in letter and spirit, by Dr. Mosheim, who says, in continuation of the extracts last quoted:—

“The Reformation made a considerable progress in Spain and Italy soon after the rupture between Luther and the Roman pontiff. In all the provinces of Italy, but more especially in the territories of Venice, Tuscany, and Naples, the religion of Rome lost ground, and great numbers of persons of all ranks and orders expressed an aversion to the papal yoke. This gave rise to violent and dangerous commotions in the kingdom of Naples, in the year 1546, of which the principal authors were Bernard Ochino and Peter Martyr, who, in their public discourses from the pulpit, exhausted all the force of their irresistible eloquence in exposing the enormity of the reigning superstition. These tumults were appeased with much difficulty by the united efforts of Charles V. and his viceroy, Don Pedro di Toledo. In several places the popes put a stop to the progress of the Reformation, by letting loose, upon the pretended heretics, their bloody *inquisitors*, who spread the marks of their usual

barbarity through the greatest part of Italy. These formidable ministers of superstition put so many to death, and perpetrated, on the friends of religious liberty, such horrid acts of cruelty and oppression, that most of the Reformists consulted their safety by a voluntary exile, while others *returned to the religion of Rome, at least in external appearance.* But the terrors of the *inquisition which frightened back into the profession of popery* several Protestants in other parts of Italy, could not penetrate into the kingdom of Naples, nor could either the authority or entreaties of the Roman pontiffs engage the Neapolitans to admit within their territories either a court of inquisition, or even visiting inquisitors.

“The eyes of several persons in Spain were opened upon the truth, not only by the spirit of inquiry, which the controversies between Luther and Rome had excited in Europe, but even by those very divines, which Charles V. had brought with him into Germany to combat the pretended *heresy* of the Reformers. For these Spanish doctors imbibed this heresy instead of refuting it, and propagated it more or less on their return home, as appears evidently from several circumstances.” A note here says, “This appears from the unhappy end of all the ecclesiastics that had attended Charles V., and followed him into his retirement. No sooner was the breath of that monarch out, than they were put into the inquisition, and were afterwards committed to the flames, or sent to death in other forms equally terrible. This was the fate of his preacher, his confessor, with above twenty others of more or less note. All this gave reason to presume that Charles V. died a Protestant.” The text continues :—“But *the inquisition, which could not gain any footing in the kingdom of Naples, reigned triumphant in Spain; and by racks, gibbets, stakes, and other such formidable instruments of its method of persuading, soon TERRIFIED THE PEOPLE BACK INTO POPERY, and suppressed the vehement desire they had of changing a superstitious worship for a rational religion;*” they maintained their allegiance to the papacy, and gave their power to its supreme head, under the influence of fear only.

Thus Mosheim concludes his history of the Reformation with a striking illustration of the last prophetic terms proclaimed by the voice of the angel of the Sixth Trumpet, a peculiarity which will be accepted as adding interesting collateral evidence to the soundness of our conclusions; which evidence gains additional force from the consideration that the historian, having certain events to relate, and recognising their character and spirit, records them without Apocalyptic expository purpose, in language so illustrative of the symbols, character, and spirit of the prophecy as to require no alteration by the expositor to assist their easy recognition.

So completely does the prophecy seem to be illustrated at this point, that we might fairly excuse any addition to the eloquent testimony already supplied by history to its correspondence with revelation. Its pages, however, continue replete with events indicative that the prophetic force of the terms, "And the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven," is not yet exhausted by the history recorded.

In Mosheim's history of *The Reformed Church* in the sixteenth century, we find: "The French Protestants were called by their enemies *Huguenots*, by way of derision and contempt; the origin, however, of this denomination is extremely uncertain. Their fate was severe; the storms of persecution assailed them with unparalleled fury, and though many princes of royal blood, and a great number of the flower of the nobility, adopted their sentiments and stood forth in their cause, yet it may nevertheless be affirmed that no other part of the Reformed church suffered so grievously as they did for the sake of religion. Even the peace which they obtained from Henry III. in the year 1576 was the source of that civil war in which the powerful and ambitious house of Guise, instigated by the sanguinary suggestions of the Roman pontiffs, aimed at nothing less than the extirpation of the royal family, and the utter ruin of the protestant religion; while the Huguenots, on the other hand, headed by leaders of the most heroic valour and the most illustrious rank, combated for their religion and for their sovereigns with

various success. These dreadful commotions, in which both the contending parties committed such deeds as are yet, and always will be, remembered with horror, were at length calmed by the fortitude and prudence of Henry IV. This monarch, indeed, sacrificed the dictates of conscience to the suggestions of policy ; and, imagining that his government could have no stable nor solid foundation as long as he persisted in *disowning the authority and jurisdiction of Rome, he renounced the Reformed religion in the year 1593, and made a solemn and public profession of popery ;*” and gave his power to the supreme head of the papacy. “ Perceiving, however, on the other hand, that it was not possible either to extirpate or suppress entirely the protestant religion, he granted to its professors, by the famous edict drawn up at Nantes in the year 1598, the liberty of serving God according to their consciences, and a full security for the enjoyment of their civil rights and privileges, without persecution or molestation from any quarter.”

One of the principal deeds referred to by the historian as being remembered with horror, is the massacre of St. Bartholomew in August 1572. It is thus mentioned by Mezeray :—“ To draw the picture of this Horrible Massacre in little, it lasted seven whole dayes : the three first, which was from Sunday, the feast of St. Bartholomew, till Tuesday, in its greatest fury ; the other four, till the Sunday following with somewhat more of abatement. During which time were Murthered near Five Thousand Persons by divers sortes of Deaths, and many by more than one, amongst others five or six Hundred Gentlemen. Neither the Aged nor the tender Infants were spared, nor Women great with Child ; some were stabbed, others hewn in pieces with Halberts, or Shot with Muskets or Pistols ; some thrown Head-long out of the Windows, many dragged to the River, and divers had their Brains beaten out with Mallets, Clubs, or such like Instruments. Seven or Eight Hundred had thrust themselves into the several Prisons ; hoping to find Shelter and Protection under the Wings of Justice ; but the Captains appointed for this Execution caused them to be haled out and brought to a place near *The Valley of Misery*, where they beat out

their Brains with a Pole-axe, and then cast them into the River.”

Continuing our historic picture of the fate of the Protestants in France, in further illustration of the terms, “And the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven,” we have Mosheim saying, in his *history of the Romish Church in the 17th century* :—“In France the persecuting spirit of the Church of Rome exhibited scenes still more shocking. The Protestants of that kingdom, commonly called *Huguenots*, after having groaned for a long space of time under various forms of cruelty and oppression, and seen multitudes of their brethren put to death by secret conspiracies or open tyranny and violence, were at length obliged either to save themselves by a clandestine flight or *to profess against their consciences the Romish religion*. This barbarous and iniquitous scene of French persecution, than which the annals of modern history present nothing more unnatural and odious, will find its place below, in the history of the Reformed Church.”

Turning to the point indicated, we find the historian saying :—“Of all the calamities that tended to diminish the influence and eclipse the lustre of the Reformed Church, none was more dismal in its circumstances and more unhappy in its effects than the deplorable fate of that church in France. From the time of the accession of Henry IV. to the throne of that kingdom, the Reformed Church had acquired the form of a body-politic.” (It will be remembered that the prophecy has only particularly recorded the fall, from the papal authority, of Great Britain and the seven united provinces.) “Its members were endowed with considerable privileges; they were also secured against insults of every kind by a solemn edict, and were possessed of several fortified places, particularly the strong city of Rochelle; in which, to render their security still more complete, they were allowed to have their own garrisons. This body-politic was not, indeed, always under the influence and direction of leaders, eminent for their prudence, or distinguished by their permanent attachment to the interests of the crown and the person of the sovereign. Truth and

candour oblige us to acknowledge that the *Reformed* conducted themselves on some occasions in a manner inconsistent with the demands of a regular subordination. Sometimes, amid the broils and tumults of faction, they joined the parties that opposed the government; at others, they took important steps without the king's approbation or consent; nay, they went so far as to solicit, more than once, without as much as disguising their measures, the alliance and friendship of *England and Holland*, and formed views which, at least in appearance, were scarcely consistent with the tranquillity of the kingdom, nor with a proper respect for the authority of its monarch. Hence the contests and civil broils that arose in the year 1621, and subsisted long between Lewis XIII. and his protestant subjects; and hence the severe and despotic maxim of Richelieu, the first minister of that monarch—that the kingdom of France could never enjoy the sweets of peace, nor the satisfaction that is founded upon the assurance of public safety, before the Protestants were deprived of their towns and strongholds, and before their rights and privileges, together with their ecclesiastical polity, were crushed to pieces and totally suppressed. This haughty minister, after many violent efforts and hard struggles, obtained, at length, his purpose; for, in the year 1628, the town of Rochelle, the chief bulwark of the Reformed interest in France, was taken after a long and difficult siege, and annexed to the crown. From this fatal event the Reformed party in France, defenceless and naked, dates its decline, since, after the reduction of their chief city, they had no other resource than the pure clemency and generosity of their sovereign.

“The court of France were not satisfied with this success. Having destroyed that form of civil polity that had been annexed to the Reformed church as a security for the maintenance of its religious privileges, and was afterwards considered as detrimental to the supreme authority of the state, they proceeded still further, and, regardless of the royal faith, confirmed by the most solemn declarations, perfidiously invaded those privileges of the church that were merely of a spiritual and religious nature. Richelieu exhausted all the

resources of his dexterity and artifice, and put into execution, with the most industrious assiduity, all the means that he thought the most adapted to seduce the Protestants into the Romish communion. When all these stratagems were observed to produce little or no effect, barbarity and violence were employed to extirpate and destroy a set of men whom mean perfidy could not seduce, and whom weak arguments were insufficient to convince. The most inhuman laws that the blind rage of bigotry could dictate, the most oppressive measures that the ingenious efforts of malice could invent, were put in execution to damp the courage of a party that were become odious by their resolute adherence to the dictates of their consciences, and *to bring them by force under the yoke of Rome*. The French bishops distinguished themselves by their intemperate and unchristian zeal in this horrid scene of persecution and cruelty; many of the Protestants sunk under the weight of despotic oppression, and yielded up their faith" (under the influence of fear) "to armed legions that were sent to convert them; several fled from the storm, and deserted their families, their friends, and their country; and by far the greatest part persevered, with a noble and heroic constancy, in the purity of that religion which their ancestors had delivered, and happily separated, from the manifold superstitions of a corrupt and idolatrous church.

"When at length every method which artifice or perfidy could invent had been practised in vain against the Protestants, under the reign of Lewis XIV., the bishops and Jesuits, whose counsels had a peculiar influence in the cabinet of that prince, judged it necessary to extirpate by fire and sword this resolute people, and thus to ruin, as it were, by one mortal blow, the cause of the Reformation in France. Their insidious arguments and importunate solicitations had such an effect upon the weak and credulous mind of Lewis, that, in the year 1685, trampling on the most solemn obligations, and regardless of all laws, human and divine, he revoked the edict of Nantes, and thereby deprived the Protestants of the liberty of serving God according to their consciences. This revocation was accompanied, indeed, with the applause of Rome; but it excited even the indig-

nation of many Roman Catholics, whose bigotry had not effaced or suspended, on this occasion, their natural sentiments of generosity and justice. It was, moreover, followed by a measure still more tyrannical and shocking, even an express order, addressed to all the Reformed churches, to embrace the Romish faith. The consequences of this cruel and unrighteous proceeding were highly detrimental to the true interests and the real prosperity of the French nation, by the prodigious emigrations it occasioned among the Protestants, who sought, in various parts of Europe, that religious liberty and that humane treatment which their mother country had so cruelly refused them. Those among them whom the vigilance of their enemies guarded so closely as to prevent their flight, were exposed to the brutal rage of an unrelenting soldiery, and were assailed by every barbarous form of persecution that could be adapted to subdue their courage, exhaust their patience, and thus engage them to *a feigned and external profession of popery, which in their consciences they beheld with the utmost aversion and disgust.*" Thus the "remnant" in France were affrighted, and gave their glory to the supreme head of the papacy.

We must now attend the fate of the German "remnant," quoting from the same histories of the Romish and Reformed churches respectively, in the seventeenth century. In the former, Mosheim says:—"The incredible pains that were taken by the pontiffs and clergy of the Romish church to spread their doctrine and to erect their dominion among the nations that lay in the darkness of Paganism, have been already mentioned. We are, therefore, at present, to confine our narration to the schemes they laid, the cabals they formed, and the commotions they excited, with an uninterrupted and mischievous industry, in order to recover the possessions and prerogatives they had lost in Europe, to oppress the Protestants, and to extinguish the light of the glorious Reformation. Various were the stratagems and projects they formed for these purposes. The resources of genius, the force of arms, the seduction of the most alluring promises, the terrors of the most formidable threatenings, the subtle wiles of controversy, the influence of pious, and often of im-

pious, frauds, the arts of dissimulation : in short, all possible means, fair and disingenuous, were employed for the destruction of the Reformed churches ; but in most cases without success. The plan of a dreadful attack upon the friends of the Reformation had been, for some time, laid in secret, and the bigotted and persecuting house of Austria was pitched upon to put it in execution.

“ The first flames of that religious war, which the Roman pontiffs proposed to carry on by the Austrians and Spaniards, their servile and bigotted instruments, broke out in Austria, where, about the commencement of this century, the friends of the Reformation were cruelly persecuted and oppressed by their Roman Catholic adversaries. The solemn treaties and conventions, by which the religious liberty and civil rights of these Protestants had been secured, were trampled upon and violated in the most shocking manner ; nor had these unhappy sufferers resolution, vigour, or strength sufficient to maintain their privileges.

“ The Bohemians, who were involved in the same vexations, proceeded in a different manner. Perceiving plainly that the votaries of Rome aimed at nothing less than to deprive them of that religious liberty that had been purchased by the blood of their ancestors, and so lately confirmed to them by an imperial edict, they came to a resolution of opposing force to force, and of taking up arms to defend themselves against a set of men whom, in consequence of the violence they offered to conscience, they could look upon in no other light than the enemies of their souls. Accordingly, a league was formed by the Bohemian Protestants, and they began to avenge, with great spirit and resolution, the injuries that had been committed against their persons, their families, their religion, and their civil rights and privileges. But it must be confessed that, in this just attempt to defend what was dear to them as men and Christians, they lost sight of the dictates of equity and moderation, and carried their resentment beyond the bounds both of reason and religion. Their adversaries were struck with terror at a view of their intrepidity, but were not dismayed. The Bohemians, therefore, apprehending still further opposition and vexations

from bigotry, animated by a spirit of vengeance, renewed their efforts to provide for their security. The death of the emperor Matthias, which happened in the year 1619, furnished them, as they thought, a fair opportunity of striking at the root of the evil, and removing the source of their calamities, by choosing a sovereign of the reformed religion ; for they considered themselves as authorized, by the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom, to reject any that pretended to the throne by virtue of an hereditary right, and to demand a prince whose title to the crown should be derived from the free suffrages of the states. Accordingly, Frederick V., elector palatine, who professed the Reformed religion, was, in the year 1619, chosen king of Bohemia, and solemnly crowned at Prague.

“This bold step, from which the Bohemians expected such signal advantages, proved to them a source of complicated misfortunes. Its consequences were fatal to their new sovereign, and to their own liberties and privileges, for by it they were involved in the most dreadful calamities, and deprived of the free exercise of the protestant religion, the security of which was the ultimate end of all the measures they had pursued. Frederick was defeated before Prague by the imperial army in the year 1620, and by this unfortunate battle was not only deprived of his new crown, but also of his hereditary dominions. Reduced thus to the wretched condition of an exile, he was obliged to leave his fruitful territories and his ample treasures to the merciless discretion of the Austrians and Bavarians, who plundered and ravaged them with the most rapacious barbarity. The defeat of this unfortunate prince was attended with dreadful consequences to the Bohemians, and more especially to those who, from a zeal for religious liberty and the interests of the Reformation, had embarked in his cause. Some of them were committed to a perpetual prison, others banished for life, several had their estates and possessions confiscated, many were put to death, and *the whole nation was obliged, from that fatal period, to embrace the religion of the victor, and bend their unwilling necks under the yoke of Rome.*” Thus was the Bohemian “remnant” affrighted, and

gave glory to the Apocalyptic god of heaven. Mosheim continues :—

“This invasion of the Palatinate was the occasion of that long and bloody war that was so fatal to Germany, and in which the greatest part of the princes of Europe were, one way or another, unhappily engaged. It began by a confederacy formed between some German powers and the king of Denmark, in order to assert the rights of the elector Palatine, unjustly excluded from his dominions, against the despotic proceedings of the emperor. The confederates maintained that the invasion of Bohemia by this unhappy prince was no just subject of offence to the emperor, and that the house of Austria, whose quarrel the emperor was not obliged to adopt, was alone the sufferer in this case. However that may have been, the progress and issue of the war were unfavourable to the allies.

“The success of the imperial arms filled the votaries of popery and Rome with the warmest transports of joy and exultation, and presented to their imaginations the most flattering prospects. They thought that the happy period was now approaching when the whole tribe of heretics that had withdrawn their necks from the papal yoke, should either perish by the sword, or be reduced under the dominion of the church. The emperor himself seemed to have imbibed no small portion of this odious spirit, which was doubly prepared to convert or destroy. The flame of ambition which burned within him was nourished by the suggestions of bigotry. Hence he audaciously carried his arms through a great part of Germany, suffered his generals to vex with impunity those princes and states which refused a blind obedience to the court of Rome, and showed plainly, by all his proceedings, that a scheme had been laid for the extinction of the Germanic liberty, civil and sacred. The elector of Saxony’s zealous attachment to the emperor, which he had abundantly discovered by his warm and ungenerous opposition to the unfortunate Frederick, together with the lamentable discord that reigned among the German princes, persuaded the papal faction that the difficulties which seemed to oppose the execution of their project, were far from

invincible. Accordingly the persons concerned in this grand enterprise began to act their respective parts.

“In the year 1629, Ferdinand II., to give some colour of justice to this religious war, issued out the terrible *restitution-edict*, by which the Protestants were ordered to restore to the Church of Rome all the possessions they had become masters of in consequence of *the religious peace* concluded in the preceding century. This edict was principally owing to the suggestions of the *Jesuits*. That greedy and ambitious order claimed a great part of these goods and possessions as a recompence due to their labours in the cause of religion, and hence arose a warm contest between them and the ancient and real proprietors. ‘This contest indeed was decided by the law of force. It was the depopulating soldier who, sword in hand, gave weight and authority to the imperial edict, wresting out of the hands of the lawful possessor whatever the Romish priests and monks thought proper to claim, and treating the innocent and plundered sufferers with all the severity that the most barbarous spirit of oppression and injustice could suggest.

“Germany groaned under these dismal scenes of tumult and oppression, and looked about for succour in vain. The enemy encompassed her on all sides, and none of her princes seemed qualified to stand forth as the avenger of her injuries or the assertor of her rights. Some were restrained from appearing in her cause by the suggestions of bigotry, others *by a principle of fear*, and others again by an ungenerous attention to their own private interest, which choked in their breasts all concern for the public good. An illustrious hero, whose deeds even envy was obliged to revere, and whose name will descend with glory to the latest ages, came forth, nevertheless, at this critical season: Gustavus Adolphus took the field, and maintained the cause of the Germanic liberties against the oppression and tyranny of the house of Austria. At the earnest request of the French court, which beheld with uneasiness the overgrown power of that aspiring house, he set sail for Germany in the year 1629, with a small army, and by his repeated victories blasted, in a short time, the sanguine hopes which the pope and emperor had

entertained of suppressing the protestant religion in the empire. These hopes, indeed, seemed to revive in the year 1632, when this glorious assertor of Germanic liberty fell, in the battle of Lutzen; but this unspeakable loss was, in some measure, made up in process of time, by the conduct of those who succeeded Gustavus at the head of the Swedish army. And, accordingly, the war was obstinately carried on in bleeding Germany during many years with various success, until the exhausted treasures of the contending parties and the pacific inclinations of Christina, the daughter and successor of Gustavus, put an end to these desolations, and brought on a treaty of peace.

“Thus, after a war of thirty years, carried on with the most unrelenting animosity and ardour, the wounds of Germany were closed, and the drooping states of Europe were revived, in the year 1648, by the peace of Westphalia, so called from the cities of Munster and Osnaburg, where the negotiations were held and that famous treaty concluded. The Protestants, indeed, did not derive from this treaty all the privileges they claimed, nor all the advantages they had in view, for the emperor, among other less important instances of obstinacy, absolutely refused to re-instate the Bohemian and Austrian Protestants in their religious privileges, or to restore the Upper Palatinate to its ancient and lawful proprietor.”

Thus is the Austrian “remnant,” in addition to the Bohemian, shown to have been affrighted, and to have given their glory to the pontiff of Rome under the influence of fear. Continuing, Mosheim says:—“But they nevertheless obtained, by this peace, privileges and advantages which the votaries of Rome beheld with much displeasure and uneasiness, and it is unquestionably evident that the treaty of Westphalia gave a new and remarkable degree of stability to the Lutheran and Reformed churches in Germany. By this treaty the peace of Augsburg, which the Lutherans had obtained from Charles V., in the preceding century, was firmly secured against all the machinations and stratagems of the court of Rome; by it the *Restitution-edict*, which commanded the Protestants to restore to the Romish church

the ecclesiastical revenues and lands they had taken possession of after that peace, was abrogated, and both of the contending parties confirmed in the perpetual and uninterrupted possession of whatever they had occupied in the beginning of the year 1624.

“All this was a source of vexation to the court of Rome, and made its pontiff feel the severest pangs of disappointed ambition. He accordingly used various stratagems, without being very scrupulous in the choice, in order to annul this treaty or to elude its effects; but his attempts were unsuccessful, since neither the emperor nor the princes that had embarked in this cause thought it advisable to involve themselves anew in the tumults of war, whose issue is so uncertain, and whose most fatal effects they had lately escaped with so much difficulty. The treaty, therefore, was executed in all its parts; and all the articles that had been agreed upon at Munster and Osnaburg were confirmed and ratified, in the year 1650, at Nuremberg.”

Notwithstanding this reprieve, we find Mosheim saying, in his history of *The Reformed Church* :—

“The church of the Palatinate, which had been long at the head of the reformed churches in Germany, declined apace from the year 1685, when a Roman Catholic prince was raised to that electorate. This decline became at length so great, that instead of being the first, it was the least considerable of all the protestant assemblies in that country.” In the Palatinate, also, they gave their glory to the Roman pontiff.

Returning to his history of the Romish church, Mosheim still furnishes illustration of the comprehensive prophetic terms, “And the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven.” Continuing from the treaty ratified at Nuremberg in 1650, he says :—“After this period, the court of Rome and its creatures were laid under a considerable degree of restraint. They did not any longer dare to make war in an open and public manner upon the Protestants, since the present state of things blasted all the hopes they had fondly entertained of extinguishing the light of the Reformation, by destroying or reducing under their ghostly

yoke the princes and states that had encouraged and protected it in their territories. But whenever they could exert the spirit of persecution with impunity, then they oppressed the Protestants in the most grievous manner, and in defiance of the most solemn conventions and of the most sacred obligations, encroached upon their rights, privileges, and possessions. Thus, in Hungary, during the space of ten years, both Lutherans and Calvinists were involved in an uninterrupted series of the most cruel calamities and vexations. The injuries and insults they suffered at the hands of many orders of men, and more especially of the Jesuits, are not to be numbered. In Poland, all those who ventured to differ from the pope found by a bitter experience, during this century, that no treaty or convention that tended to set bounds to the authority or rapacity of the church was held sacred, or even regarded at Rome. For many of these were ejected out of their schools, deprived of their churches, robbed of their goods and possessions under a variety of perfidious pretexts; nay, frequently condemned to the most severe and cruel punishments without having been even chargeable with the appearance of a crime."

Thus, the Hungarian and Polish "remnants" are seen affrighted, and, under the influence of fear, giving their glory to the Roman pontiff. Mosheim continues:—"The remains of the Waldenses, that lived in the valleys of Piedmont, were persecuted often with the most inhuman cruelty, and more especially in the years 1632, 1655, and 1685, on account of their magnanimous and steadfast attachment to the religion of their ancestors; and this persecution was carried on with all the horrors of fire and sword by the dukes of Savoy.

"In Germany, the same spirit of bigotry and persecution produced almost everywhere flagrant acts of injustice. The infractions of the famous treaty above mentioned, and of the Germanic liberty that was founded upon it, would furnish matter for many volumes; and all these infractions were owing to a preposterous and extravagant zeal for augmenting the authority and extending the jurisdiction of the church of Rome," and compelling the affrighted "remnants" to give their glory to her supreme head. Referring to the

Waldenses, Mosheim adds, in his history of *The Reformed Church* :—"The most horrid scenes of violence and bloodshed were exhibited on this theatre of papal tyranny, and the small number of the Waldenses that survived them are indebted for their existence and support, precarious and uncertain as it is, to the continual intercession made for them by the English and Dutch governments, and also by the Swiss cantons, who never cease to solicit the clemency of the duke of Savoy in their behalf." He also informs us in his history of the Romish church that, "Among the more illustrious *deserters* of the protestant religion were Christina, queen of Sweden, a princess of great spirit and genius, but precipitate and vehement in almost all her proceedings, and preferring her ease, pleasure, and liberty to all other considerations; Wolfgang William, count Palatine of the Rhine; Christian William, marquis of Brandenburg; Ernest, prince of Hesse; John Frederick, duke of Brunswick; and Frederick Augustus, king of Poland."

History having now shown us that, during a period reaching up to the year 1685 (in which year the historian's dates on the subject appear to converge), in Germany generally, and in Spain, Italy, France, Bohemia, Austria, Hungary, Poland, Piedmont, and Switzerland, "the inquisition, racks, gibbets, stakes, fire, and sword terrified the people back into popery, and suppressed the vehement desire they had of changing a superstitious worship for a rational religion," it will be seen that, in order to perfect the illustration of the comprehensive terms, "And the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven," it only now remains for us to learn, that, during the same period, Great Britain and the Seven United provinces continued to maintain their freedom from the papal yoke. Of the former, Mosheim says, in his history of the Romish church in the seventeenth century :—

"All the resources of inventive genius and refined policy, all the efforts of insinuating craft and audacious rebellion, were employed to bring back Great Britain under the yoke of Rome. But all these attempts were without effect. About the beginning of this century, a set of

desperate and execrable wretches, in whose breasts the suggestions of bigotry and the hatred of the protestant religion had suppressed all the feelings of justice and humanity, were instigated by three Jesuits, of whom Garnet, the superior of the society in England, was the chief, to form the most horrid plot that is known in the annals of history. The design of this conspiracy was nothing less than to destroy at one blow James I., the prince of Wales, and both Houses of Parliament, by the explosion of an immense quantity of gunpowder, which was concealed for that purpose in the vaults that lay under the House of Lords. The sanguinary bigots concerned in it imagined, that as soon as this horrible deed was performed they would be at full liberty to restore popery to its former credit, and substitute it in the place of the protestant religion. This odious conspiracy, whose infernal purpose was providentially discovered when it was ripe for execution, is commonly known in Britain under the denomination of *the gunpowder treason*.

“ This discovery did not suspend the efforts and stratagems of the church of Rome, which carried on its schemes in the succeeding reign, but with less violence and more caution. Charles I. was a prince of a soft and gentle temper, and was entirely directed by the counsels of Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, a man who was neither destitute of learning nor good qualities, though he carried things to excessive and intolerable lengths, through his warm and violent attachment to the ancient rites and ceremonies of the church ; the queen, on the other hand, who was a princess of France, was warmly devoted to the interests of popery ; and from all this it seemed probable enough, that though treason and violence had failed, yet artifice and mild measures might succeed, and that a reconciliation might be brought about between England and Rome. This prospect, which had smiled in the imaginations of the friends of popery, vanished entirely when the civil war broke out between the king and parliament. In consequence of these commotions, both the unfortunate Charles and his imprudent and bigotted counsellor, Laud, were brought to the scaffold ; and Oliver Cromwell, a man of unparalleled resolution,

dexterity, and foresight, and a declared enemy to everything that bore even the most distant resemblance of popery, was placed at the helm of government, under the title of Protector of the Commonwealth of England.

“The hopes of Rome and its votaries were nevertheless revived by the restoration of Charles II., and from that period grew more lively and sanguine from day to day. For that monarch, as appears from unquestionable authorities, had been initiated, during his exile, into the mysteries of popery, and had secretly embraced that religion, while his only brother, the presumptive heir to the crown, professed it openly, and had publicly apostatized from the protestant faith. Charles, indeed, was not a proper instrument for the propagation of any theological system. Indolent and voluptuous on the one hand, and inclined to infidelity and irreligion on the other, it was not from him that the Roman pontiff could expect that zeal and industry that were necessary to force upon the English nation a religion so contrary to the tenor of the laws and the spirit of the people as popery was. This zeal was found in his bigotted successor, James II.; but it was accompanied with such excessive vehemence and imprudence as entirely defeated its own purposes; for that inconsiderate monarch, by his passionate attachment to the court of Rome, and his blind obsequiousness to the unseasonable and precipitate counsels of the Jesuits, who were the oracles of his cabinet, gave a mortal blow to that religion which he meant to promote, and fell from the throne, whose prerogatives he was attempting to augment and extend. Immediately on his accession to the crown, he openly attempted to restore to its former vigour, both in England and Ireland, the authority of the Roman pontiff, which had been renounced and annulled by the laws of both realms; and that he might accomplish with the more facility this most imprudent purpose, he trampled upon those rights and privileges of his people, that had ever been held most respectable and sacred, and which he had bound himself, by the most solemn engagements, to support and maintain. Justly exasperated and provoked by repeated insults from the throne upon their

religion and liberties, and alarmed with natural apprehensions of the approaching ruin of both ; the English nation looked about for a deliverer, and fixed its views, in the year 1688, on William prince of Orange, son-in-law to their despotic monarch, by whose wisdom and valour things were so conducted, that James was obliged to retire from his dominions, and to abdicate the crown ; and *the Roman pontiff with all his adherents, were disappointed in the fond expectations they had formed of restoring popery in England.*”

In respect to Great Britain, therefore, the testimony of history to her freedom from the papal yoke is conclusive ; and as Mosheim, in his history of the Reformed church, devotes several pages to the state of that church in the Seven United Provinces forming the Protestant republic of Holland, we may consider that in respect of those provinces, also, the testimony of history is equally complete. We need not follow the historian, as his relation principally refers to various differences of opinion entertained on the reformed doctrines by the Christian doctors, which we are not here called upon to entertain. Our object is sufficiently obtained by the mention of the fact. His remarks commence at p. 257 with “ It will now be proper to change this scene, and to consider a little the state of the Reformed church in Holland,” and are continued up to p. 261.

The comprehensive requirements of the last dramatic representation in the vision being thus historically satisfied by events accurately corresponding therewith, before closing our lecture, it may be interesting to learn what history says as to the *internal* state of the professing church represented by the symbolic candlesticks at the period to which we have arrived—the latter half of the seventeenth century. This is due to her, as the chief actor in the drama we have been witnessing. Mosheim furnishes the information at p. 182. He says :—

“ Hitherto we have confined our views to the external state and condition of the church of Rome, and to the good or ill success that attended its endeavours to extend its dominion in the different parts of the world. It will be now proper to change the scene, to consider this church in

its internal constitution, and to pass in review its polity, discipline, institutions, and doctrine. Its ancient form of government still remained; but its pontiffs and bishops lost, in many places, no small part of that extensive authority they had so long enjoyed. The halcyon days were now over, in which the papal clergy excited with impunity seditious tumults in the state, intermeddled openly with the transactions of governments, struck terror into the hearts of sovereigns and subjects by the thunder of their anathemas, and imposing burdensome contributions on the credulous multitude, filled their coffers by notorious acts of tyranny and oppression." They no longer had "power to shut heaven that it rain not in the days of their prophecy," or, "over waters to turn them to blood," or, "to smite the earth with all plagues as often as they will." "The pope himself, though still honoured with the same pompous titles and denominations, found, nevertheless, frequently, by a mortifying and painful experience, that these titles had lost a considerable part of their former signification, and that the energy of these denominations, diminished from day to day. For now almost all the princes and states of Europe had adopted that important maxim that had been formerly peculiar to the French nation: 'That the power of the Roman pontiff is entirely confined to matters of a religious and spiritual nature, and cannot, under any pretext whatever, extend to civil transactions or worldly affairs.' In the schools, indeed, and colleges of Roman Catholic countries, and in the writings of the Romish priests and doctors, the majesty of the pope was still exalted in the most emphatic terms, and his prerogatives displayed with all imaginable pomp. The Jesuits, also, who have been always ambitious of a distinguished place among the assertors of the power and pre-eminence of the Roman see, and who give themselves out for the pope's most obsequious creatures, raised their voices, in this ignoble cause, even above those of the schools and colleges. Nay, even in the courts of sovereign princes, very flattering terms and high-sounding phrases were sometimes used to express the dignity and authority of the head of the church. But, as it happens in other cases, that men's

actions are frequently very different from their language, so was this observation particularly verified in the case of Rome's *Holy Father*. He was extolled in words, by those who despised him most in reality; and when any dispute arose between him and the princes of his communion, the latter respected his authority no farther than they found expedient for their own purposes, and measured the extent of his prerogatives and jurisdiction, not by the slavish adulation of the colleges and the Jesuits, but by a regard to their own interests and independence. This, the Roman pontiffs learned, by a disagreeable experience, as often as they endeavoured during this century *to resume their former pretensions, to interpose their authority in civil affairs, and encroach upon the jurisdiction of foreign states.*"

This being the picture of the professing Christian Church in the West, not at her lowest point of degradation in the early part of the sixteenth century but in the latter part of the seventeenth, after enjoying for a century and a half the effects of the vivifying spirit which reanimated her; and as that church fell still lower in the East, as we have seen, under the destroying arm of the Turks, we are quite prepared to see the force of the word "woe," used in the terminating verse of the prophecy, "The second woe is past," and to acknowledge that the character of the chastisements respectively inflicted by the Turks and by the gospel doctrines of grace and faith, corresponds well therewith. Respecting the Turks, it may not be uninteresting to observe that whilst we have seen them, during the progress of our history, more or less exercising their commissioned powers over Western Europe by sanguinary wars, attended with the most triumphant success to their arms, their first defeats were respectively inflicted by John Sobieski and Prince Eugene, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, just at the period in which our previous historic relations have centred. These defeats were sustained during the great German war which commenced in 1673, and eventually led to the Peace of Carlowitz concluded in 1698. The result of a subsequent war with Russia and Austria was fatal to them, and unmistakably proclaimed that, with the expiring echoes

of the sixth trumpet, a century before, the power of the Turks as a woe to Western Christendom, to which the latter part of this prophecy alone relates, had passed away.

Having given the picture drawn by the historian of the internal state of the visible professing Christian church in the latter half of the seventeenth century, some notice is also due to the internal state of the Reformed church at the same period. Mosheim does not present much to admire. Just as in Holland, so in England : his record abounds with doctrinal disputes, religious confusion, and evidences that in many instances the “new wine was put into old bottles.” This will, however, occasion no surprise, if it be remembered that the voice of the sixth trumpet ceases amidst the throes of “a great earthquake,” and that, although the Bible in the hands of the Reformers has been seen to have abundantly accomplished its destined work as a woe to the visible professing Christian church, and although “the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein” have been measured and prepared, as yet the inner court of that temple has not been Apocalyptically exposed to public view ;—neither will any disappointment be experienced, if due effect be given to the superior counsels of the Divine mind, which has deemed it proper to reserve the announcement of the latter event to the voice of the angel sounding the seventh trumpet.

The above view will be sufficiently supported by two short extracts from Dr. Mosheim, one being that with which he commences the history of the English church : the other, that with which he terminates it, prior to the reign of William in 1688, just before which date, it will be remembered, the historical illustrations of the prophecy have been found to be completed. He first says :—“The church of England had for a long time resembled a ship tossed on a boisterous and tempestuous ocean. The opposition of the *Papists* on the one hand, and remonstrances of the *Puritans* on the other, had kept it in a perpetual ferment.” At the latter point indicated, he says :—“It is observable that it is to the transactions that were carried on during this period in favour of religious liberty, that we must chiefly impute the multitude of religious sects and factions, that start up

from time to time in that free and happy island, and involve its inhabitants in the perplexities of religious divisions and controversy.”

To the picture presented by the visible professing Christian church in the latter half of the seventeenth century, just now submitted to our view, another may be added, of two centuries later date, which, although chronologically digressive, furnishes too eloquent a comment on the lesson we have seen to be conveyed by the prophecy under consideration to permit its omission, especially as the different characters composing it will thereby have the advantage of adding to their own judgment, that of “Him who liveth for ever and ever, who created heaven and the things that therein are, and the earth and the things that therein are, and the sea and the things which are therein,” who, it will be remembered, has plainly declared the true character of the spirit animating the god whom they have been pleased so to honour, and who has supported his declarations by evidences, the power and conclusiveness of which can be alone referred to the wisdom of the divine mind as their Author.

The picture is drawn by the special correspondent of the *Morning Post*, in which Journal it appeared on 19th and 20th April, 1869. The features illustrating our subject are thus delineated:—

“Rome, April 13th.—The events of the last two days require to be chronicled with some degree of detail, many religious and festive demonstrations having been crowded into the space of eight and forty hours.

“Congratulations which had been offered to his holiness by anticipation all last week, poured in most abundantly on Saturday, especially by telegraph, in which mode Queen Victoria’s felicitations were conveyed to the Vatican. Among those messages was one from Baltimore, viâ Atlantic cable, of the following tenor: ‘Papæ Pio IX., Romam. Sanctissima Pio de Quinquagenario sacerdotii jubilantes gratulantur, salutem incolumitatemque præcantes Filii nationis Teutonicæ per provincias Americæ Unitas dispersi. Baltimoræ!’ The addresses of all kinds, in all languages, and from all countries, and the more tangible proofs of veneration and affec-

tion which have accompanied them, would go far to justify the pontiff in a remark which he is said to have made to the senator of Rome when he conveyed the compliments of the S.P.Q.R. to the Vatican on Saturday morning: — ‘The Italian government has published its green-book, and we will publish a golden book, in which the sentiments and offerings of the whole Catholic world on the present occasion shall be registered.’

“Early on the morning of Sunday, the 11th, the vast Basilica was fuller than I ever recollect having seen it, except on the occasion of the dogmatic definition of the immaculate conception. The fiftieth anniversary of the pope’s first mass attracted the people generally, so that the crowds congregated in the ample nave and closely serried round the high altar had a more popular type than is usually to be observed in the grand Easter ceremonies. All the environs of Rome, and most of the towns and cities within a day’s distance by rail, had contributed a considerable portion of their population to the fluctuating mass of sight-seers.

“At 7.45 the pope left his apartments, accompanied by the palatine cardinals, Clarelli and Antonelli, the complete corps of court prelates, and the senator and conservators of Rome. A murmur thrilled through the church, as his holiness, visibly affected, ascended the steps of the high altar. During the mass, the pope administered the holy sacrament to eight poor boys belonging to the hospital of Cata Giovanni, and to about 200 ladies and gentlemen who anxiously solicited such a consolatory distinction. It was on intoning the subsequent *Te Deum* that Pio Nono’s emotion became evident to all around him, and the tears which flowed from his upturned eyes excited a corresponding sentiment of sympathy in the thousands of spectators whose attention was concentrated on the person of *the supreme pontiff*. The cannon of St. Angelo announced to the city the completion of the religious ceremony in St. Peter’s, after which, the pope repaired to the sacristy, where a collation was offered to him and to the most distinguished persons present, by the dean and chapter of the church. The refreshments were calcu-

lated for 1,000 persons, but the crush at the door rendered it imprudent for all the guests to avail themselves of their invitations. After the breakfast, the pope withdrew to his private apartments, but by no means to repose, for congratulations and messages of all sorts were continually arriving by the telegraph from every part of the world, which had to be communicated to him. Most of the Catholic courts had special representatives, or their resident ambassadors were entrusted with autograph letters for this purpose. Thus, the marquis de Banneville acted for France, and count von Trautmansdorff for Austria, and count Pyche de Petteghem for Belgium ; but the king of Prussia sent his highness the duke of Ratibor with a letter and a magnificent porcelain vase of royal Berlin ware. This special envoy has been received with honours far above all other diplomatists. The count d'Arco was special envoy for Bavaria ; and Russia was represented by the grand duke Vladimir. The king and ex-queen of Spain and the prince of the Asturias, the kings of Holland, Saxony, and Wurtemberg, the empress of Mexico, the grand dukes of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and the prince of Monaco, were among the complimentary sovereigns ; but it would be an endless task to register all the magnates, civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries, public bodies, municipal representatives, and pious associations of all denominations, and from all Catholic countries, who availed themselves of the rapidity of electric communication for this exceptional circumstance," and who thus gave glory to the god of the Apocalyptic heaven.

" At 5 p.m. his holiness adjourned to the great hall over the vestibule of St. Peter's, to receive in special audience the Catholic deputations of all denominations, amounting to some thousands of persons, from foreign princes and prelates, bringing millions of francs and florins, to the rustic *quinque patres*, bearing the humble congratulations and the hard cheeses of some mountain village community of Comarca or Sabina. An English deputation—got up here in some haste—was among the foreign representative bodies. The assembly burst into enthusiastic applause as the pope ascended *the throne* prepared for him. Fortunately the addresses were

not read, otherwise the ceremony would have been endless. The pope delivered a speech in general terms of affection and gratitude, and then looked out of the central window of the hall upon the crowd assembled in the piazza below, to listen to the hymn expressly composed by the maestro Gounod for this occasion, and which was being performed by seven military bands and 1,000 soldiers, as a singing chorus.

“Rome, April 14th.—On the morning of the 12th his holiness repaired to the hospital of Tata Giovanni. The adjoining church, in which he said his first mass fifty years ago, was adorned with draperies, and Latin and Italian inscriptions. The pope was received by the cardinal vicar and the superior and pupils of the establishment. The latter sang the motet, ‘Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord,’ as Pius IX. entered the church.

“In the afternoon his holiness set out for his annual visit of thanksgiving to the church of St. Agnes, preceded and followed by long files of carriages, while the straight road from the Quirinal palace to the ancient basilica of Helen, upwards of two miles long, was lined on both sides by spectators. After the Ambrosian hymn and the benediction, the pope allowed numbers of those present to kiss his foot, and at 6.30 commenced his triumphal return to Rome, the growing darkness permitting him to appreciate the varied designs of the illuminated façades, temples, and other temporary constructions which were lighted up at the first signal of his approach.”

Having chronologically digressed, to give this picture of the papacy in the nineteenth century, a picture of the Reformed church at the same period appears to be required, before we resume our proper position in the seventeenth century. One just suited to our purpose is presented in the *Morning Post*, of April 9th, 1869, under the heading of “Enthronement of the Bishop of London.” It will be seen that some of its features are not so dissimilar from the foregoing as might have been expected from the revelations which prophecy, interpreted by history, has disclosed to us. Processions, pompous observances, and pageantry are conspicuous in both, and to both a visible *throne*, together with great

homage to him who sits upon it, appears necessary, notwithstanding their declarations that Christ is the sole head of the church and that his throne is in heaven—declarations supported by the gospel records, and emphatically so by “The Revelation of Jesus Christ,” as we have already seen in our first lecture. Whilst, therefore, *the spirit* of the two contending parties of the sixteenth century may have maintained their divergence since that period, the same cannot be unhesitatingly said of the visible evidences thereof on exceptional occasions, even when displayed in one of its mildest forms. The scene of the ceremony above mentioned is in St Paul’s cathedral, London, whose sacred precincts history has already called on us to tread in May, 1521, to witness “the impious writings of the heresiarch Luther being devoutly burned.” The ceremony itself will be sufficiently described by the following extracts from the above-named Journal, dated April 9th, 1869 :—

“Yesterday afternoon the ceremony of enthroning the late Bishop of Lincoln, who has been appointed to the bishopric of London, took place with an elaborate ceremony in St. Paul’s Cathedral. In the chapter-house, the bishop, dean, archdeacons, prebendaries, and other officials being assembled in their robes, the Bishop of London said—I exhibit to you, Mr. Dean, a mandate from the Archdeacon of Canterbury, praying to take upon yourself the burthen of its execution, and to proceed according to the tenor thereof.

“The Dean of St. Paul’s assented, and then administered to the bishop the usual oath. The bell then tolled, and a procession was formed in the following order from the chapter-house to the great west door of the cathedral, viz :—The Commissary of St. Paul’s or his surrogate ; the Registrar of the Dean and Chapter ; the Prebendaries, two by two, the juniors first ; the senior of the three Vergers ; the Residentiaries ; the Dean ; the Bishop’s apparitor ; the Bishop in his episcopal habit ; the Chancellor of London ; the Registrar of the Diocese ; the Bishop’s chaplains ; and others in attendance according to their degrees.

“As the procession wound its way around the north-west angle of St. Paul’s Churchyard, some hundreds of persons

were attracted by the marching in order of the vicar-general with his scarlet robes of D.C.L. of Oxford; the Bishop of London in his episcopal habit and with his Oxford red hood of D.D., which is now becoming a general appendage to the lawn sleeves; the doctors in divinity with their scarlet hoods; and others who wore the Oxford scarlet on their backs; and then those who wore the less showy black and white hoods which designated their previous connection with the University of Cambridge. Then came the officials and other gentlemen.

“At the west door the procession was met by other members of the chapter, and by other gentlemen. All then proceeded through the body of the church and choir to the bishop’s *throne* near the communion table. Then the dean placed the bishop *on his throne*, and causing him to sit down, inducted or installed him, saying:—‘I, Henry Longueville Mansel, dean of this cathedral church, do, by the authority to me committed, induct, instal, and enthrone you, the Right Reverend Father in God, John, by Divine permission Lord Bishop of London, into the bishopric and episcopal dignity of London. The Lord preserve thy going out and thy coming in from this time forth for evermore; and mayest thou remain in justice and sanctity, and adorn the place to you delegated by God. God is powerful, and may He increase your grace.’

“This being ended, the dean conducted the bishop to the episcopal stall in the middle of the choir, and went to his own stall. Then the *Te Deum* was sung, and after it the suffrages were performed by the dean and choir. After a short prayer offered by the dean, evening prayer was said, after which all returned to the chapter-house in the same order as they came, and the residentiary having placed his lordship in the uppermost chair, the dean, the canons residentiary, the prebendaries, the minor canons, the vicars choral, the organist, the vergers, and the bell-ringers then promised canonical obedience to the bishop, in the following words: ‘Right Reverend Father in God, I acknowledge all canonical obedience due to you as Bishop of London.’” The order of the musical services then follows, which need not be transcribed.

Nor will it be fair to omit the statement which admits of ocular verification and of proof in these pages, did not our digression dispense with the necessity, that in some of the professedly Reformed churches there are not wanting evidences of the spirit which we have seen to have corrupted the early Christians, still retaining numerous disciples ; and that our quotations from Gibbon's 28th chapter relating to the Christian church of the fourth and fifth centuries, and from Mosheim's 4th chapter of the fourth century, are equally applicable to those churches in the nineteenth ; for whilst Gibbon says :—"The sublime and simple theology of the primitive Christians was gradually corrupted, as the objects of religion were reduced to the standard of the imagination, the rights and ceremonies were introduced that seemed most powerfully to affect the senses. If, in the beginning of the fifth century, Tertullian or Lactantius had been suddenly raised from the dead, to assist at the festival of some popular saint or martyr, they would have gazed with astonishment and indignation on the profane spectacle which had succeeded to the pure and spiritual worship of a Christian congregation. As soon as the doors of the church were thrown open, they must have been offended by the smoke of incense, the perfume of flowers, and the glare of lamps and tapers, which diffused at noonday a gaudy, superfluous, and, in their opinion, a sacrilegious light ;" so Mosheim says, "Ill-directed piety cast a cloud over the beauty and simplicity of the gospel by the prodigious numbers of rites and ceremonies which had been invented to embellish it. In these times, the religion of the Greeks and Romans differed very little in its external appearance from that of the Christians. They had both a most pompous and splendid ritual. Gorgeous robes, mitres, tiaras, wax tapers, crosiers, processions, lustrations, images, gold and silver vases, and many such circumstances of pageantry were equally to be seen in *the heathen temples* and *the Christian churches* ;" and so faithfully are these pictures reproduced in the nineteenth century by the Reformed churches in question, that the representatives of their enemies of the sixteenth century, on witnessing them, have been ashamed of their own comparative coldness of

effective worship, and confessing themselves reproached by a display of ceremonies surpassing their own in pomp and ritual ingenuity, have exultingly exclaimed "that the Protestants are rapidly returning to the mother church." And as the circumstances of the earlier period of the fusion of the Pagan and Romish churches called forth from Coleridge the remark "that the pastors of the church had gradually changed the life and light of the gospel into the very superstitions they were commissioned to disperse, and thus *paganised Christianity in order to christen Paganism*," so, in the nineteenth century, it is currently stated, "that these Reformed churches have *Romanised Christianity in order to christen Romanism*," and have thus exposed themselves to the charge of perpetuating the observances of a religion, which, in earlier times, Mosheim tells us above, differed very little in its external appearance from that of the *Heathens*.

Resuming our historically assigned position in the latter half of the seventeenth century, and finding the fourth and last part of the voice of the angel of the Sixth Trumpet fully illustrated, it may be observed that every symbolic scene in the Apocalyptic drama which succeeded the sounding of that trumpet, has been vividly brought before us by their counterparts, played on the world's platform through a period of nearly seven centuries. In their external as well as their internal features, both have been exhibited in strict correspondence. It only now remains for us, therefore, to conclude our first series, which will detain us but a short time.

CONCLUSION.—FIRST SERIES.

It has been mentioned that the last announcement of the prophecy, "And, behold, the third woe cometh quickly," prepares us for the imminency of the sounding of the seventh trumpet, and, at the same time for the commencement, shortly after the year 1685, of the events corresponding with those proclaimed by its voice. As, however, after the seventh trumpet sounds, the onward progress of events is interrupted to introduce, retrospectively, the ecclesiastical series of figurations referred to at p. 68, vol. i.; and as those figurations, as there stated, belong to our second series of lectures, it is not now proposed to enter upon the consideration of the seventh trumpet's announcements, but to close our first series with those of the sixth. We shall have, therefore, to bear in mind when commencing our second series with the sounding of the seventh trumpet, that the terms of the sixth have imposed a chronological limit to the resumption of progressive events; and have also raised the expectation of an interesting subject of inquiry being then presented for our consideration, as remarked at p. 7, and as implied by the terms, "But in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound, the mystery of God should be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets."

History having enabled us to raise a structure of interpretation composed of the marked events of seventeen centuries, and of sufficient proportions to suggest its being submitted, at this stage, to public inspection, it may be well previously to examine the engagements entered into, and the expectations raised by the conditions imposed at the outset of our labours, and which were presented on the faith that the testimonies would not be withheld, which the early prophetic terms seemed absolutely to require from history to supply.

The answer of history is now before us. In reply to the several prophetic announcements, its pages have, in the same order as those announcements, proclaimed events found to be in strict accordance therewith, and this not in a limited but in the most comprehensive sense. Every change in the character of the visions has been met by a corresponding change of character in the events of history. An exceptional state of happiness and prosperity enjoyed by the Roman empire; followed by scenes of civil war and bloodshed; then a period of aggravated oppression and misery, succeeded by one of unparalleled mortality, satisfy the requirements of the first four seals. The fifth seal is then replied to by "The era of Martyrs;" and the sixth seal by the subversion of Paganism by Christianity, a Christian emperor seated on the throne, and the truth of the martyr's cause vindicated in the sight of man and acknowledged in the sight of God. Then, through a long period, the pen of the historian is monopolised by the efforts required to restrain the frontier barbarians, who threatened to pour in upon the empire from North, South, East and West, and by his relation, satisfies the requirements of the four wind-restraining angels. Next follows the reprieve from the imminent invasions then impending, gained by the prudent measures of Theodosius, and the public distinction drawn by that emperor between the true Christians and those who were merely professors, satisfying thereby the ascent of the angel from the East and sealing the servants of God in their foreheads.

We then have the interesting retrospective view of Arianism on the Roman throne, and its violent degradation and subversion by Christianity, according with the altar scene, the incense angel and the smoke of the incense of the seventh seal. Then, on the death of Theodosius, in complete satisfaction of the first four trumpets, the barbarians delivered from their restraint, overwhelm the Western empire in all its parts, inflict on the Romans the most terrible calamities, and ultimately destroy the political existence of the West as a part of the Roman world. We then have "the era of embassies," responding to the angel

flying through the midst of heaven, saying, Woe, Woe, Woe, followed by the appearance of Mahomet and his myriads of disciples, who fulfil in a most striking manner the particular as well as general conditions imposed by the fifth trumpet. The Turks succeed, take Constantinople by the aid of cannon and gunpowder, and, by assuming the sovereignty of the East and manifesting the several characteristics of the prophecy, satisfy the requirements of the first part of the sixth trumpet. Then, in the West we have the historian chronicling the depravities, corruptions, idolatries, wholesale murders, and thefts practised by the visible professing Christian Church and her priests, agreeing well with the second part of the sixth trumpet. The Reformation follows with the restored Bible in its hands, and all its other remarkable accordances with the third part of the sixth trumpet; whilst the fourth and last part of that trumpet is satisfied by the extraordinary revelations which history has just disclosed to us. The exposure of the errors of the visible professing Christian Church and of her hierarchy of priests, supported by their source being found to have been in the third century, a period to which the prophecy directed us for the information; the parts respectively played in the drama of the sixteenth century by the Reformers, Charles V., the Turks, and the exposed professing Christian Church; the degradation of that Church and her subsequent rise under royal and Jesuitical inspiration; England and the Seven United Provinces casting off the yoke of that Church and maintaining their liberty, whilst in all other countries, stakes, racks, gibbets, and inquisitors drove the affrighted Protestants back into a profession of popery, altogether exhibit such a phalanx of interesting and instructive accordance with the voice of the angel of the sixth trumpet, as may perhaps be held to justify the expectation that this part of our historical structure is not unworthy of a favourable reception, notwithstanding, as before mentioned, that its design is believed to be original, and known to be opposed to that prescribed by the order of Apocalyptic expositors; neither is such reception due to it the less for the very important lesson which it conveys as

to the true nature and character of a Church whose votaries are still numerous, and the clear revelation of God's view respecting that Church which is thereby brought to light.

It may be, perhaps, therefore, now assumed that history has not failed in fulfilling the first condition proposed—"it is hoped that our exposition will not be found devoid of interest or instruction;" nor in demonstrating that if "The Apocalypse of Jesus Christ be imperfectly understood, the blessing promised therein can be but imperfectly enjoyed."

It may be also hoped that "the apparent difficulties" no longer exist which were referred to "as presented to the religious inquirer in the inspired pages, and which tended to produce an indifference in the minds of many Christians, and in some had quenched even the desire to acquaint themselves or to be made acquainted with a revelation which though believed to be from God, they deemed too mysterious to be understood." It may be also claimed as demonstrated, "that no human ingenuity or wisdom could possibly have foretold the character, or the mode or time of the occurrence of the events, which history, the only reliable interpreter, has presented as corresponding with and explaining the otherwise unfathomable mysteries of the prophetic book;" for, amidst a host of other instances conspicuous in our history, what foresight could have comprehended the invention of gunpowder just at the time to satisfy "the fire, and the smoke, and the brimstone" of the sixth trumpet? or what prescience could have foreseen the tergiversations of Charles the Fifth?

It may be also thought that history has so far not disappointed our proposed purpose, "to assist in obtaining increased interest in, and knowledge of, the inspired book, and a less limited enjoyment of the blessing promised therein as its natural consequence;" and that as the several interpreting events have been presented in the language of the respective historians, written without Apocalyptic purpose, it may be considered fair to hold that our structure "is sufficiently simple and supported to be readily recognised as truth, and also sufficiently explicit in its details, to meet the requirements of the severest examiner;" and as those events

have been found “minutely to correspond with the Apocalyptic visions, recorded by John to have been seen by him, and announced to him to be representations of the things that must shortly come to pass ;” also “to have commenced immediately after the seeing of the visions, and to have successively illustrated seal after seal and trumpet after trumpet in the chronological order preserved in the prophecy,” the acknowledgment cannot well be withheld that the contended condition is proved, viz., “that the things represented to John as those which must shortly come to pass, did shortly begin to come to pass, and are now in course of progress.”

Whilst history, therefore, has thus far met the proposed conditions of our structure, fulfilled the expectations raised by the exigencies of the early prophetic terms, and exhausted the subject allotted to our first series of lectures, it may also be considered to have justified the hope, not only of a favourable reception for our second series, but also that, during the time required for the preparation of that series, its interpretations, now submitted to public judgment, will be found calculated to promote the profitable study of “The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to show unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass ; and he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John, who bare record of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ, and of all things that he saw. Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein.”

“The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all, Amen,” being the last verse of the prophetic record, in the same spirit, we may also say—at the conclusion of our first series—Amen.

END OF THE FIRST SERIES.



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